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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 113, NO. 19 NEW YORK, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1945 NUMBER 1614

What Does Mr. Truman Mean?

IF PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S Navy Day speech on foreign policy was intended to clear the air and dispel some of the apprehensions concerning the future peace shared by the American people and by the peoples of other countries, it was a thorough failure. As a matter of fact, it seems to have contributed to increasing the psychological insecurity of the last few weeks. Although the speech contained a number of verbal reassurances—such as that "we do not seek for ourselves one inch of territory in any place in the world," that "we seek to use our military strength solely to preserve the peace of the world," or that "the world cannot afford any let-down in the united determination of the Allies in this war to accomplish a lasting peace"—these noble words will remain empty phrases if they are not implemented by appropriate action. And there is good reason to fear, on examination of Mr. Truman's program, that his contemplated actions will have little relevance to his words.

The President pointed out that we need adequate military forces for the quadruple purpose of enforcing the terms of peace imposed on our defeated enemies, of fulfilling the military obligations which we are undertaking as a member of the United Nations Organization, of preserving the territorial integrity and the political independence of the nations of the Western Hemisphere, and of providing, "in this troubled and uncertain world," for the common defense of the United States.

These are undeniably worthwhile objectives, but is it necessary to adopt universal military training in order to realize them?

TRAINING FOR WAR

The plea for universal training, made earlier and now reiterated, would have deserved the support of Americans if it had been made before 1945. We live in a world in which power, both economic and military, determines events. The way to abolish war is not mere sacrifice of the ability to wage it promptly and effectively. If we had had this power in the prewar decade and had evinced any readiness to use it, the world might have been spared the ensuing tragedy. The decisions crucial for mankind concern the way in which power is mobilized and the objectives for which it is used.

It is not true, as some pacifists maintain, that the mere possession of a great military establishment, or even universal military service, necessarily places a nation at the mercy of an army caste or leads to aggressive war. Universal service was possessed before 1939 not only by Germany, Japan and Italy, but by Russia, France, Belgium, Holland and other victims of aggression. It existed even in democratic Sweden and Switzerland and was a factor in their relative immunity from attack. Britain will almost certainly continue it, as will the other Allies and neutrals. It is nonsense to maintain that the United States alone among the nations will disturb and threaten others if it prepares to enforce its will, if necessary by arms. Everything depends upon what that will is. If we are resolved to have peace, unilateral disarmament on our part would merely reduce our influence and dismay our friends. Our guarantees would have far less substance.

Arguments against the proposal of the Chief of Staff

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1945, IN THE U.S.A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879
PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

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and the President which fail to admit these realities are merely sentimental. Americans don't like army life or army discipline; there is no virtue in military training for its own sake. Yet if it is necessary as means of exercising the great responsibility of the United States in the world, we ought to accept it as an unpleasant obligation. The question is whether, after 1945, it is necessary.

The weakness of the President's appeal is that it shows that he has not awakened to the new facts which condition the use of power. How we are to train and enlist those who may be prepared to employ our weapons is not an isolated problem. What are to be the strategy and tactics of the future? What good can it do us to have millions of trainees if we are to be the victims of a surprise attack by atomic bombs or rockets? Perhaps, as has been suggested, we ought rather to direct our efforts to the advancement of science and technology on the one hand, while, on the other, we train the whole population to disperse and subsist like primitive savages.

Our permanent military policy should not be decided piecemeal. First we shall have to know what the security provisions of the United Nations will demand of us in capacity to enforce peace, and what forces we ought to maintain outside those committed to its use. If disarmament, aside from the forces under pledge to the UNO, is to be achieved, it must be by agreement among all the great nations. If such agreement can be obtained, the situation will greatly differ from that which will exist otherwise. There is no acceptable alternative to international policing of atomic power. If that is not achieved, we cannot go on talking as if we should have time to mobilize and equip trained reserves, on the outbreak of possible war.

We cannot now allow our army, navy and air force to evaporate, since there are still important policing jobs to be done before the world can be set going again. If continuation of conscription is necessary for this temporary purpose, let the argument be made on that ground. But to advocate the adoption of a permanent program of civilian military training at this juncture can only be the product of obsolete thinking.

Stan MacGovern in the New York Post

The Bola

The Atomic Bomb

The President told us, however, that the talk about the atomic bomb scrapping all navies, armies and air forces is, for the present, 100-percent wrong. Mr. Truman was wise to qualify his statement by limiting it to the present. It may be perfectly true that as long as the other nations have to rely on pre-atomic instruments of war, the control of our sea approaches and of the skies above them is dependent on the maintenance of adequate naval and air forces. But, one may ask, is it likely that any nation would dare to attack us with antiquated weapons in the knowledge that we would certainly retaliate with atomic bombs?

Mr. Truman's assurance that our possession of the atomic bomb is no threat to any nation and that we regard this possession as a sacred trust, will fall on deaf ears. As long as we refuse to share the bomb with the rest of the world by placing its manufacture under international control, all our lofty sentiments, all our professions of peace and all our insistence on democratic processes will simply sound hypocritical to the other peoples of the world. The government's plan to exchange fundamental scientific information on atomic energy with other nations, but not to discuss "the processes of manufacturing the atomic bomb or any other instruments of war," will surely give the impression that we intend to wield the bomb as a big stick in our foreign relations.

Relations with Russia

This impression will not be destroyed by the President's statement that "the atomic bomb does not alter the basic foreign policy of the United States." The fact is that possession of the bomb has already changed our foreign policy, if not in our own eyes, then certainly in the eyes of the world and especially of the Soviet Union. Our relations with Russia have steadily deteriorated since the end of the war, and it is quite likely that our refusal to share the atomic-bomb "secret" with the Russians played a considerable part in this development. But the Russians are not the sort of people who are easily cowed by strong words. This is particularly true of what Mr. Truman had to say about our government's policy in regard to some liberated countries. Although Russia was never mentioned, there can be no doubt that he was referring especially to the countries under Soviet control.

All peoples, the President said, "who are prepared

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for self-government should be permitted to choose their own form of government by their own freely expressed choice, without interference from any foreign source." To put teeth into this demand, the United States "shall refuse to recognize any government imposed upon any nation by the force of any foreign power." On the surface, in terms of their manifest content, it is impossible to quarrel with the President's words. But what do they mean in the contemporary context of power politics?

It is unquestionably true that the Soviet government has exercised terrific pressure on the countries liberated by the Red Army—Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Austria. It has sought to bring into power governments which it can manipulate and on which it can rely for political support vis-à-vis the Western powers. It has used techniques of political control which are objectionable to democratic nations. But can it be blamed?

Our opposition to some of the governments in the Soviet-dominated sphere can have little moral weight in view of our apparent determination to keep the atomic bomb our exclusive property. From a military point of view—if that is the reason for Russia's intransigence—the atomic bomb is many times more valuable than all the strategic territories which Russia may claim for her own security. The Russians are probably fully aware of the fact that without the atomic bomb these strategic advantages are not real. If we would share the bomb with them—which we ought to do anyway, for reasons of our own security in the long run—our opposition to Russian-controlled governments in Eastern Europe might carry real weight.

Moreover, are we going to apply our lofty maxims to those countries not in the Russian sphere, but more or less dominated by ourselves? There is fascist Spain, whose dictator, Francisco Franco, was put in power by German and Italian intervention. Are we planning to withdraw recognition from Spain in the near future? If the answer is "no," is not our continued recognition of his regime contrary to our precepts and does it not constitute, as a matter of fact, "foreign interference"? Are we willing to continue recognition of British interference in Greece or Dutch interference in Indonesia? It is easy to formulate "fundamentals of foreign policy." But fundamentals are meaningless if they are not specified in detail, and if they are not equally and justly applied to all similar situations.

Balkan Politics

In the particular case of the Balkan countries, if our policy is to be effective, it cannot be one of empty abstractions. The President's statement in this respect, and Mr. Byrnes's earlier pronouncements, are based on the naïve assumption, unwarranted by the conditions in the Balkans, that democracy there is the primary issue. There is an element of truth in this assumption. Democratic elements—in the Western sense of the word—do exist in the Balkan countries, and we should support them and insist on their ability to be politically active. But democracy as we understand it is possible only if certain conditions pre-exist which make democracy a workable political institution. These conditions do not as yet prevail in most of the Balkan countries. We should insist that Russian policy be directed toward creating these conditions, not toward retarding their appearance. And we should not object to those aspects of Russian policy which foster their emergence.

While we can legitimately object to Russian policy when it means persecution of democratic forces only because they wish to see an East-West orientation of Balkan foreign policy, and while we can legitimately oppose those reactionary elements whom the Russians accept only because they are willing to play along with the Soviet Union, we should also appreciate those measures taken by the Soviet authorities which are favorable to the eventual emergence of democracy. One of these is agrarian reform, which has long been overdue and whose delay has proved time and again a stumbling-block to democracy. If in the course of these reforms the property rights of previous owners are infringed, the price is not too high. The same is true of whatever nationalization programs of natural resources are instituted under Russian auspices. Foreign exploitation by the Western capitalist powers has often been one of the major obstacles to democracy in the Balkans. It was the foreign capitalist interests which conspired with the old ruling classes to keep the Balkan peoples in submission.

Because the liquidation of the traditional ruling classes and their bureaucratic hangers-on is one of the most important political needs of the Balkan countries, they can be ruled in this transition period only by the broad leftist coalition governments which derive directly from the resistance movements. If the Communists try to usurp power by manipulating these governments for their own dictatorial purposes, we should oppose such maneuvers. But we cannot, and should not, condemn the coalition governments as such, even if their political methods are not democratic in the Western parliamentary sense. Reforms are so urgent in the Balkan countries that our failure to recognize coalition governments merely because they do not live up to our standard of democracy, is short-sighted and ill conceived.

Trouble Ahead

Of course, if our refusal to recognize certain governments is motivated only by considerations of power politics, ignoring the merits of Russian action in the Balkans, the stage is well set for further misunderstanding and international complications.

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Our Overseas Information

THE JOB of directing official United States information for overseas dissemination was given early in September to William Benton in a newly created post of Assistant Secretary of State. His task is to formulate sound, democratic policy in the public interest, establish a basis for coöperation with the private profit-making concerns operating in the field and work the OWI's wartime staff into a permanent State Department agency. Since his acceptance, no official pronouncements have been made as to a policy or as to the details of operations planned or in progress. The whole matter to date has been handled with typical State Department secrecy and discretion which bespeak a lack of clarity among those in charge and undermine public confidence.

The present situation is a direct outgrowth of the difficulties encountered in directing our overseas information during the war years. Congress and the American people readily accepted an overseas information program which would be employed as a psychological weapon in support of our armed forces against the enemy. Propaganda to the occupied countries of Europe which would encourage them to resist and await liberation was viewed in the same light. Therefore, while Congress was reluctant to support, and finally abolished, the domestic branch of the OWI, a powerful overseas organization was built up.

No one would argue that the OWI's record was perfect. It made serious errors of major strategy, partly because in the beginning it was not properly integrated with the military forces and the State Department. Nevertheless, it did the required job of explaining America's role in the war to the world in spite of the dubious heritage created by years of Hollywood movies—the main medium by which most of the world knows the American people.

No doubt many people viewed the OWI as a wartime evil to be abolished at the earliest possible moment. But to many of the officials involved it was obvious early in the war that if the United States planned to live up to its international responsibilities, using its full resources to create a world security system and employing its own achievements as a standard of democratic progress, it could never again rely entirely on the prewar private channels operated only for profit and not always in the world interest. The problem of adequate democratic control and of reaching agreement with the vested interests of private news services, movie distributors, publishers and the like then seemed overpowering if not insoluble.

The control of information in Germany presented a clear-cut case. It was inconceivable that after unconditional surrender the task of employing the press and radio in the reëducation of the German people could be immediately turned over to private corporations—German, American or others. On the contrary it seems likely that official American information will be required for many years in Germany and Japan.

Likewise, in the liberated areas of Europe and more recently in the Pacific, the OWI (called United States Information Service in Allied and neutral countries) found that the close of hostilities did not end its job. Five years of Nazi propaganda had left its mark, and millions of people still had to be brought up to date on what America had been doing in the war. Therefore OWI outposts made every effort to assist in the development of the interchange of news and information between the liberated areas and the United States.

Today it appears that the State Department, through Benton, has acknowledged the necessity for a continued government overseas information program. Perhaps it feels that the "American story" as told in the past by Hollywood and other channels is not adequate from the point of view of the national interest. Moreover, there are large areas into which commercial interests do not sufficiently penetrate. But Benton is worried about congressional opposition to the program, as well as that of private profit-making agencies. The result, according to report, is that a plan has been formulated to make the entire project look small, safe and innocent, thereby avoiding the risk of veto. When present OWI funds run out, a small budget of about $20 to $30 million will be requested—an amount sufficient to support an information attaché and a small staff in each of the world capitals and major cities. Overseas broadcasting does not seem to be under consideration.

If it can be assumed that America's foreign policies are dedicated to the establishment of a world security system, there can be little objection to worldwide dissemination of facts about such policies. Likewise, no one who is aware of what poor and often one-sided information the world has been given of the United States could object to efforts to correct this situation. However, there is little guarantee that such a program will result from present State Department policies. The secrecy of Benton, perhaps a result of his advertising experience, raises some grave questions. It would be extremely short-sighted to try to slip this program over on Congress and the American people. A full statement is needed immediately from the State Department as to what it intends to do.

It must be clearly established that the purpose of overseas information is to supplement existing private facilities and not to dominate the field in authoritarian fashion. To achieve a balanced presentation abroad of America and her goal, labor, farmer, educational religious and coöperative groups as well as the advertising men of big business must be represented in the direction and staffing of this program. This can be guaranteed in part by a broadly based policy and an advisory board drawn from all groups. The men sent

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overseas to act on this vital mission must likewise be more varied in background than the traditional State Department careerist. Finally, they must be made responsible to Congress for all of their activities so that informed public opinion can control the information which our government is disseminating abroad.

Who Owns the Savings?

Whether we are to have a rising cost of living accompanied by extreme business activity or continued unemployment depends partly upon whether people spend their war savings and what they spend them for. Little is yet known about this subject, but a sample survey by the Federal Reserve Board offers a preliminary indication.

The survey covered Birmingham, Alabama, and Douglas County, Illinois, a farming district. A small percentage of liquid assets was found to be held by the lowest income groups. It was not true, however, that a large proportion of the savings was in the hands of the rich. Between two-thirds and three-fourths were possessed by family units receiving less than $6,500 a year. Within each income class, the bulk of the savings was held by relatively few families.

These results would indicate that wage-earners in the more poorly paid occupations have little to fall back upon if their earnings are reduced. Most of the money is in the hands of families which are not likely to squander it in riotous spending. Indeed, the largest percentage of family units indicated that they intended to hold their liquid assets for hard times or old age. The next largest expected to buy or remodel homes or to buy farms or farm equipment. Less than 10 percent intended to use their savings for purchase of consumer goods. Pending a wider sampling, it is impossible to say whether the rest of the country will follow the same pattern. If it does, we cannot achieve and maintain full employment without distributing enough current earnings to absorb nearly all that the entire labor force can produce.

De Gaulle and the Parties

Revised election returns of France's first postwar national elections have given the Communists and not, as we mentioned last week, the Socialists, the largest number of seats in the Assembly. This has considerably changed de Gaulle's political prospects. Although his program was endorsed by some four million voters who supported the new Mouvement Républicain Populaire (MRP) whose success at the polls was as remarkable as that of the Communists, his political future depends largely on whether the Socialists will prefer to work with the Communists or with the MRP. From the point of view of popular following, the Socialist Party is the most solid democratic force in France. The success of the MRP was made possible largely by the fact that many former centrists and rightists flocked to its banner. While its leadership is undoubtedly progressive, at least in regard to economic and social reform, its adherents are in great measure opportunists who supported the party because they knew which way the wind was blowing. The same can be said of some of the newcomers to the ranks of the Communists, who probably picked up some of the *déclassé* elements which formerly flirted with fascism.

Until the constitutional changes which he wants have been made, de Gaulle will probably try to rule with the support of a coalition cabinet composed of members of all three parties. But in the long run two-party coalitions, with one of the three parties in the opposition, are more likely. The Socialists can work with the MRP if that party proves itself devoted to the principles of its leadership, which to a large extent stem from the program of the pre-liberation resistance movement. They may prefer to work with the Communists, provided the latter give sufficient guarantees of loyal democratic coöperation. Or they may go into opposition, leaving government responsibility in the first years of the Fourth Republic to the Communist-MRP combination, in the hope that they may thus strengthen their cadres.

The greatest danger both labor parties are facing is that by resuming their traditional competition for the support of the working classes they may weaken each other, with the possible result that at some future election the MRP and a resurgent Right may be victorious. Politically, both parties are closer to each other than either is to the MRP, which, in spite of its economic and social progressivism, has clerical connections and some authoritarian tendencies. It is for this reason that once the Fourth Republic has been born, a Socialist-Communist coalition government would seem the best guarantee of democracy and socialism in France. In that case de Gaulle's future would largely hinge on the labor parties' willingness to retain him as a symbol of French rejuvenation by making him President of the Republic with limited powers.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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Wages, Prices and Employment

by George Soule

IF WAGE RATES are increased 30 percent, as the unions are demanding, employers must charge more for their products, the cost of living will rise and we shall be started on a jet-propelled rocket into the inflationary stratosphere. That is a self-evident proposition which can be proved on anyone's radio by any news commentator.

If wage rates are not increased enough to make up for the loss of overtime earnings, the take-home pay of those workers still employed will be cut 30 percent, the purchasing power of the consuming public will be correspondingly reduced, and we shall be sunk by a deflationary depth charge. That proposition is equally self-evident.

Some people will choose whichever of these contradictory self-evident propositions appeals to their prejudices. In doing so they may be confirmed by a good deal of shoddy economic reasoning now current as analysis of the situation. But those who are inclined to question self-evident propositions may wish to inspect the subject a little more closely.

Will Wage Increases Bring Inflation? – I know of no instance in economic history in which wage increases have been a major cause of inflation. The usual course of inflation is that it is first noted where prices are most easily affected, as in the markets for commodities like grain or cotton or metals. Wholesale prices rise furthest. Retail prices follow at a respectful distance. Profits swell—at least on the books. Wages, which are relatively "sticky," are affected still later, and of course fixed incomes may not follow the procession at all.

The standard economic argument against wage increases is that by boosting costs, they make business less profitable and so limit economic activity. This is regarded not as an inflationary, but as a deflationary influence. It is supposed to decrease employment and interrupt the expansion of investment, or orders for materials and eventually of consumers' buying. One theory holds that this is likely to occur late in the course of an inflationary boom and induce its collapse. And at the bottom of the great depression, orthodox theory held that wage increases would merely intensify unemployment. Economists who supported wage increases did so on the ground that higher pay coming back into the markets would enlarge production and employment, not that higher costs would boost prices.

The prevailing influence in starting a general and rapid rise of prices is an effective demand greater than the available supply of goods. During an inflationary upward swing, prices in most instances are pulled up by demand, before they are pushed up by costs. Price increases can in such circumstances be checked by the arrival of larger supplies on the market, or by a failure of purchasing power to go on increasing, not by holding down costs.

Now, suppose that the present tendency is for demand to exceed supply. We may assume that sellers —except in industries where prices are fixed by administrative decision—would take advantage of the situation by raising prices. Prices would keep on going up as long as the excess of demand over supply continued, provided deliberate control of one kind or another did not interfere. General wage increases, if granted, would merely cut in on the gains of employers, without exercising much effect on price.

Suppose, on the other hand, that demand and supply are almost equal, or that supply even exceeds demand. There would in that case be no continuing tendency toward rising prices. If prices were boosted to cover any additional wage costs, they would not go on increasing, as in a period of excessive demand. Every attempt to increase prices would further limit the demand and exert a compensating downward pressure in the markets. In these circumstances the only danger to be anticipated from increases in wage rates would be that they might restrict production and employment, thus diminishing the actual earnings of the workers and failing of their objective.

In neither case could wage increases bring inflation. When demand for goods exceeds supply, wages usually *follow* prices up; when supply exceeds demand, prices will not continue upward for long, even though higher wages bring higher costs.

All this assumes that deliberate control of prices is not exercised.

What About Wages and Inflation During the War? – During the war, demand greatly exceeded supply in nearly all markets. The pressure was strongly inflationary. Controls were adopted to resist it. Rationing checked demand, and ceilings held prices. In these circumstances, wages had to be held down as well. The main necessity for doing so was to bolster the general consent to governmental control of prices. If wages had been allowed to rise very much, the insistence on higher price ceilings on the part of farmers and businessmen would have been irresistible. Rising wage costs did not greatly threaten price stability. The basic danger of inflation arose from the excess demand which could not be satisfied in the markets. Without this excess demand, wage rises could not have brought in-

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flation, because prices could not have risen much. The danger would rather have been that higher wage costs would restrict production.

If the public support of price control had been strong enough to maintain price ceilings under all circumstances, wages could in fact have been allowed to rise more than they did. They could safely have risen as long as margins of profit remained sufficient to keep war production going at full speed. The additional purchasing power bestowed upon wage-earners would in that case merely have been subtracted from the purchasing power represented by profits.

Will Failure to Increase Wages Bring Deflation? – In order to assess the argument in favor of wage increases now, we have first to estimate the relationship of demand and supply. The government is decreasing demand by reduction of war purchases. Men and women are being thrown out of jobs, thus losing their purchasing power. Overtime is being abandoned. War profits are shrinking. As a result of all these factors, the national income is falling and the demand for goods is being reduced by many billions of dollars.

Meanwhile, the production of goods for sale on civilian markets is being resumed. Plants and machinery are being released for this purpose. Many raw materials are becoming abundant. While business spokesmen may be too optimistic about the speed of reconversion, there can be no doubt that it is rapid. Resumption of civilian production results in the growth of income for those employed, which somewhat offsets the decline due to reduction of government spending. It is not likely, however, to compensate fully for this decline. Meanwhile, the supply of goods for sale to civilians is increasing. It will probably exceed the current income available to buy these goods at existing prices before very long. Just what this interplay of drop in government spending, rise of income in non-war industries and enlargement of the supply of consumer goods will do to the relationship between demand and supply at any given time is extremely difficult to forecast.

There is, however, another factor which may play a decisive role. The tremendous volume of war savings in the hands of business and individuals is sufficient, if added to current income, to create a demand for more than can be offered for sale for a long time to come, provided these savings are spent. The total of liquid assets is estimated at about $65,000 million. Nobody knows how much of these savings will be spent or when, or for what kinds of goods.

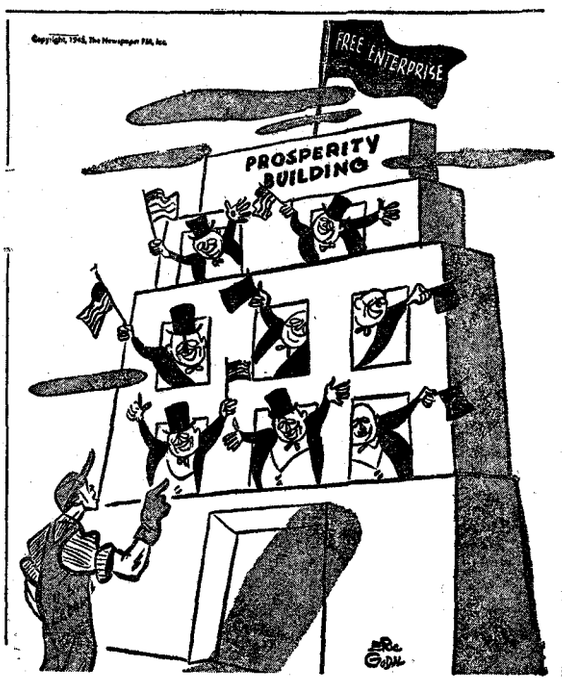
The answer to the question whether wage increases are necessary to avoid deflation must therefore be conditional. During the reconversion process itself, increases might either help or hinder, depending upon the current relation of demand and supply. As the end of reconversion is approached, an increase in purchasing power of the average employed worker will probably be necessary to diminish unemployment and forestall depression, if accumulated savings are not being spent. If savings are spent in sufficient quantity, they could make up for the absence of wage increases as long as savings last. If they are spent in still larger quantity, we shall have an inflationary tendency in any case.

What is set down above is not an argument against wage increases. Though they may not stimulate markets, they would help to protect wage-earners against a rising cost of living. In the end, a gain in currently earned purchasing power will be necessary for full employment.

Do Wage Increases Add to Costs of Production? – Everything noted above would be true if every new wage increase resulted in an equivalent rise in cost of production to the employer. Much of the current discussion of the subject assumes this equivalence as axiomatic. An increase in average hourly earnings is frequently taken as a measure of rise in labor costs.

For instance, a recent pamphlet by Harold G. Moulton and Karl T. Schlotterbeck, published by the Brookings Institution, entitled *Should Price Control Be Retained?*, states that from December, 1941, "Labor costs in manufacturing industry increased 33 percent as measured by average hourly earnings." No sooner is this figure recorded, however, than the authors go on to admit the commonly known fact that the added costs were absorbed in some instances by larger volume and improved operating efficiency.

This is a clumsy and misleading way of stating the fact that hourly earnings are not, after all, a good



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"How About a Room for Me, Too?"

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measure of labor costs. The labor cost per unit of product is rather measured by what has to be paid for the amount of labor that will produce that unit, and this amount decreases as technical efficiency advances. Moreover, even though true labor costs may increase, operation at capacity may so reduce overhead per unit and other costs that the total cost of production is not affected.

Actual cost of production is a subject concerning which accurate estimates cannot be made off-hand. We do know that technical efficiency shows a long-term tendency to advance and that at some times and in some cases its gain is very rapid. If the increase in manufacturing productivity per man-hour during the war was the same as in the prewar decade, it would be about 10 percent for the years 1942-1945 inclusive. A War Production Board survey of August 25, 1945, reveals that 3,750 concerns in 42 industries estimated that by the middle of 1946, they will have increased production 86 percent with only a 33-percent increase in employment. This would be a gain of nearly 40 percent in productivity. Any such advance as this would allow room for plenty of wage increases without raising cost of production at all.

Moreover, it must be remembered that average hourly earnings during the war included the effect of many hours worked at overtime rates. A return to normal working hours will automatically reduce average hourly earnings, if no wage increases are granted.

The necessary inference from considerations like these has been recognized in all informed discussions of employment after the war. When more goods can be produced with fewer labor hours, somebody must gain enough purchasing power to buy a correspondingly larger volume of goods if there is not to be an increase in unemployment. The workers themselves should have a considerable share of that additional purchasing power. They can be granted a share without any general increase in costs of production, and hence without the necessity of any general increase in prices.

Can Everybody Have the Same Increase? – So far, we have been thinking in terms of great aggregates, much as if the national economy were a single establishment. This is necessary and useful as a starting point, but it is far from the whole story. We are engaged in a complex process of changing over from some types of demand and some types of production to other types. This means that there may be surpluses of some kinds of goods, while there are still shortages of others. Although the main tendency may be either inflationary or deflationary, certain prices will tend to fall while others rise, or will rise less than the average.

Producers of some kinds of goods which altogether occupy a high percentage of our national output do not have to reconvert at all in the technical sense, because they never made specialized war equipment. This is true, for instance, of mining, agriculture, transportation and other public utilities, textile and clothing manufacture and a host of other occupations.

It must also be remembered that the gain in efficiency of production is much more rapid in some industries than in others, and even within a given branch of manufacture it is distributed unevenly. The consequence is that some employers could afford to pay much larger wage increases without raising prices than could others. If the workers in each separate establishment should absorb the whole gain which was made possible in that establishment by the combination of the effect of the market on its prices and its gain in productivity, the general advance in purchasing power would be very unevenly distributed. Customary wage differentials would be completely upset and we should not have a desirable distribution of income.

Conclusions for Policy. – It follows that while in general wage increases should be favored, wage policy alone cannot be relied upon to solve the problem. We must have a good price policy as well.

In view of the possibility of inflation, it would be reckless in the extreme to abandon price control at this juncture. Specific controls can be relaxed wherever surpluses arise, but they may be needed for a long time in parts of the economy where an abundance of supply is likely to appear more slowly, as in housing. Wherever price ceilings are retained, care should be taken not to set them so high as to discourage sales at a volume less than the demand which would be expected under full employment.

It is clear, too, that the necessary advance in mass purchasing power must be achieved in part through price reductions for the products where the greater gains in productivity are registered. Price reduction shares the gain among all consumers, stimulates sales and increases employment in the industry in question. If, on the contrary, the gain in efficiency were utilized wholly to pay higher wages in that industry, these results would not follow. It would be still worse if the gain were not distributed either in lower prices or higher wages, but remained as a wider profit margin —which does not necessarily mean that total profits would be larger.

Both social and economic policy demand that a general increase of purchasing power and real income should be directed as far as possible toward the lower-paid strata of the population. This is not only the way to eliminate poverty. It also is the way to safeguard employment, since the higher the income, the larger is the percentage saved, and there is a risk that savings will not be spent. The relative bargaining power of labor groups does not necessarily correspond with this principle of distribution. It is for this reason that we need higher minimum wages and other governmental policies to supplement collective bargaining.

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Spain Versus Franco

by Emilio Verdad

THE PEOPLE of Spain want a republic. Eighty to 90 percent of the electorate, if permitted a free election, would, according to usual estimates, vote for a return to the 1931 Constitution. Even Don Juan monarchist José María Gil Robles, now in exile in Portugal, and disgruntled General Antonio Aranda privately admit that no fewer than 70 percent of the populace would support a republican regime in any but a "carefully supervised" plebiscite. There is, furthermore, a well organized republican opposition group inside Spain, the Alianza Nacional de Fuerzas Democráticas, a coalition of the outlawed labor groups and all right of center, center, left of center, and left-wing political parties except the Communists. The fact that Dictator Francisco Franco, with the backing of five percent of the Spanish people, remains Chief of State can be largely explained in terms of his brutally repressive measures and the anomalous diplomatic and economic policies of the Anglo-Americans.

Republican opposition to Franco has generally been presented to the American public in terms of picturesque and heroic guerrilla activities, or Communists seeking to draw Spain into the Soviet sphere of influence. Actually the membership of the Alianza Nacional de Fuerzas Democráticas numbers between 300,000 and 500,000; its 30,000 active adherents in Madrid nearly equal the total of the guerrilla forces, and exceed by some 10,000 the entire Communist Party membership. Not long after its organization in December, 1943, the Alianza leaders issued a manifesto in which they advocated a non-violent restoration of the constitutional Republic, with free elections to be held at the earliest possible moment, and expressed unqualified approval of the principles set forth in the Atlantic Charter. Originally the coalition was composed predominantly of Left Republicans, Socialists, members of the Socialist General Workers' Union (UGT) and members of the Anarcho-Syndicalist National Confederation of Labor (CNT). Other political groups represented included the Catalan Left Republicans, Republican Union, Federal Republicans, Basque Nationalists and even a few right-wing Republicans willing to compromise with the monarchists to support a temporary restoration of Don Juan as a means of facilitating a transition from the Franco dictatorship to the Republic. These latter appear to have been subsequently eliminated, and the CNT element has been strengthened until it is now dominant in the provinces of Catalonia and Andalusia. The first president of the Alianza was a former Left Republican deputy to the Cortes, Régulo Martínez, while Gómez Ejido, a friend and follower of exiled Indalecio Prieto, was in charge of the Socialist and UGT liaison activities. As in the Spanish Liberation Committee, or Junta Española de Liberación, founded in Mexico, and with which, via a committee in France, the Alianza subsequently became loosely affiliated, the Communists were excluded from membership.

To date the Alianza has adhered to its policy of nonviolence, although some of the CNT leaders, increasingly restive, have proposed an attempt at a nationwide strike, a move sure to entail extensive casualties. They first urged a program of strikes and sabotage in the late summer and early fall of 1944 when the Germans were being liquidated in southern France, and Spanish Maquis controlled almost the entire Spanish-French frontier. At that time, however, Allied representatives in Spain requested the Alianza leaders to exercise restraint and patience so that the Spanish situation would not become embroiled at a time when the European war was at its peak. These leaders did not know that at the same time United States Ambassador Hayes was urging that the Spanish Maquis in France be disarmed and removed from the border, since their incursions into Spain might stimulate a popular revolt.

Later in the same year, in December, 1944, the Alianza suffered a devastating blow when a Falangist agent, a one-time petty official under the Republic named Luis Alfaro, gained the confidence of some of the Republican leaders. Posing as an exile who had just made his way back from France, and using forged letters purporting to be from President Diego Martínez Barrio in Mexico and conservative Republican Miguel Maura—who had earlier launched his plan for an interim government in France—Alfaro managed to learn the identities of many of the leaders and hundreds of the key members. Then in a series of raids starting on Christmas Eve and continuing on into February, as additional names were extracted by torture, some 3,000 members of the Alianza, including Martínez and Ejido, were apprehended. It was not until June, after the Alianza had suffered a second series of large-scale arrests, that it recovered from these betrayals and perfected its organization by a policy of decentralization into regional groups.

Relatively few members of the Alianza possess firearms, but the Madrid affiliates have asserted that with no other identification than an armband they would be

Emilio Verdad is the pseudonym of a writer who wants to remain anonymous because he is planning to return to Spain.

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able to assume control of the governing and policing of the capital city whenever the Allies, by diplomatic and economic sanctions, would make it clear to Franco that they were supporting the restoration of democratic constitutional procedures in Spain. Numerous Alianza emissaries have already reached France with messages of adherence to the Giral government recently set up in Mexico City. The Alianza has also established liaison with various guerrilla groups, particularly in the Sierra de Gredos and the Sierra de Guadarrama, such contacts being directed toward facilitating a non-violent transition, and not toward stimulating disturbances.

THESE RESISTANCE GROUPS, despite their daring exploits, constitute more of a nuisance than a threat to the government. Although their numbers have been augmented and their equipment improved, they could nowhere challenge the regular-army forces. Some bands are known to be operating within twenty miles of Madrid, however, and few wealthy Andalusian landowners travel over their huge estates without a large armed guard. Found in every mountain range throughout Spain, the *guerrilleros* are most numerous in the Cordillera Cantábrica of the Asturias, the Sierra de Guadarrama and the Sierra de Gredos of Castille, and the Sierra Morena of Córdoba province. They are probably at their weakest in the Pyrenees, where Franco has an army estimated at 180,000 men, which includes, according to two sources believed reliable, several thousand Germans who crossed over from France. This region has been virtually under martial law since the Allied landings in Normandy. Although there have been extensive desertions of regular-army troops and members of work battalions in the Pyrenees area, most of those deserters have crossed into France instead of joining the guerrillas. In a few regions of Spain, particularly near Málaga and Cáceres, the guerrilla bands have maintained contact with Communist cells, and receive instructions and supplies from them. Perhaps 5,000 *guerrilleros* are well armed with weapons of American manufacture which were parachuted into France during her liberation, or procured in North Africa and smuggled into Spain by small boats or across the Portuguese frontier. Even the best equipped, however, lack reserves of ammunition and facilities for maintaining and repairing their weapons.

The Communist resistance group in Spain, small but closely knit, has been very effective in the dissemination of propaganda and in the maintenance of communications with the USSR via the Central Committee of the Communist Party in France. Its headquarters in Madrid, the Comité Central del Partido Comunista, accumulates and transmits information to its four provincial committees (the largest are in Barcelona and Córdoba), and the small cells which work under these committees specialize in propaganda, political organization, demonstrations and the smuggling and distribution of arms. Although the actual membership of the party inside Spain does not number 20,000, and the excesses of certain Communist chekas during the civil war alienated the large body of Spanish liberals and leftists, the party's organization and facilities have enabled its members and sympathizers to exert an influence disproportionate to their numerical strength. As their potential striking force would be especially advantageous in a revolutionary situation, the Communists have advocated a program of active resistance and have been highly critical of the passive policy of the Alianza. The Soviet radio, España Independiente, has supported their efforts by urging increased guerrilla activities and sabotage, and by lauding exiled Communist leaders Juan Comorera, Vicente Uribe, Antonio Mije, Santiago Carrillo, and above all Dolores Ibarruri, better known as "La Pasionaria."

The recent support of Juan Negrín by Radio España Independiente roughly coincided with its discontinuance of all propaganda in praise of the previously publicized Junta Suprema de Unión Nacional, a supposed coalition of all resistance groups. Actually this Junta was born in Mexico in the fertile brain of Antonio Mije, who confided to a friend that if no such group existed one ought to be created. Launched as a going concern led by a dashing *guerrillero* termed a "Spanish Tito," and with a ready-made manifesto, the Junta Suprema achieved considerable publicity in the foreign press, although its existence was denied by Negrín and practically every other prominent exiled leader. Actually the group never attained more than a scattering of adherents outside the Communist Party in Spain. The last verified mention from inside Spain of this "beautiful phantom" was a denunciation of it as a hoax printed by the CNT in June, 1945.

THE EFFECTS on resistance elements of the current wave of arrests and executions cannot as yet be estimated. Between August 25 and September 3, more than a thousand were arrested, over five hundred of them from the Madrid area, and large-scale detentions, sometimes with summary execution, were still being reported in October. Included in the early arrests were an estimated thirty Free Masons (presumably because both President Diego Martínez Barrio and Prime Minister José Giral of the Spanish Republican Government-in-Exile are members of the Masonic lodge), and nearly a hundred Communists. These latter comprised most of the executive officers and liaison men of the Central Committee of the party in Madrid. The cases of two of the officers, Cuban Santiago Alvarez and Argentinian Sebastián Zapirain, have already become matters of international protests and sympathetic strikes. Alianza members of the UGT in Madrid and the CNT in the Córdoba and Sevilla areas seem to have sustained important, but not crippling, losses.

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Persons arrested are invariably classed as "Reds," and nearly all of those who have been brought to trial during the current year have appeared before the Military Tribunal for the Repression of Masonry and Communism. This court, whose dissolution was promised by Franco shortly before funds were allocated for its continuance to January, 1946, is empowered to try Free Masons, Communists and others of "similar" beliefs (interpreted to include Republicans, Socialists and Anarcho-Syndicalists) which may be considered as counter to the Catholic state religion or other fundamental state institutions. Accusations against those brought before the Tribunal may even antedate the civil war, and sentences are invariably imprisonment for twelve, twenty, or thirty years and a day, or death. In the scientific torture of prisoners to obtain information or to break them mentally and physically, there is little that the Gestapo-trained secret police and prison wardens have failed to learn from their Nazi prototypes. Commonly employed are beatings with rubber truncheons, burning with cigarettes, breaking off of teeth, tearing out of fingernails, thirst torture, or conversely forced drinking of gallons of water, the application of the electric goad to women's breasts and men's genitals, and execution by the garrote. Hundreds of Spanish Republicans have disappeared, never to be heard from again, into the underground torture chambers of the Seguridad, beneath the Puerta de Sol, the Times Square of Madrid. During the past year the executions of political prisoners, often without trial, have frequently exceeded 1,000 monthly. Thus in December, 1944, executions totaled more than 1,300, a number which has been nearly equaled in several succeeding months. During two weeks of January in one prison alone—the Carabanchel of Madrid in which 3,000 prisoners are crowded—58 were put to death following torture, and on the two days in February, following the killing of two minor Falangist officials, there were not 16 (as reported in the United States) but 56 reprisal executions.

To hunt out Republican leaders and Communist elements, Franco has as special aides not merely tens of thousands of the secret police, who have infiltrated into every trade and profession, including the army, but also the more recently formed Guardia de Franco, a group composed primarily of former soldiers of the Blue Division. Some members of the Guardia de Franco are specially trained in techniques for suppressing riots; others are assigned to listen in on conversations, primarily in workers' cafés. The Caudillo also has his uniformed "guardians" of anti-Republican liberties, the regular police, the Guardias Civiles and an estimated 75,000 officers who control 750,000 troops.

Largely unarmed, subject to imprisonment or death if caught in possession of a weapon, liable to search or arrest without warrant, and if they have a "political record" allowed to travel only by special permit, it is not surprising that Spanish Republicans take a cynical view of statements by Anglo-American officials that the people of Spain should be the ones to eliminate Franco and choose their own government. It almost sounds like an invitation to oppose tanks and guns with bare hands and naked breasts, and to expose women and children to strafing from planes powered by American gasoline. The underlying assumption seems to be that "bloodshed" applies, not to the tens of thousands marked for execution or dying of tuberculosis in Spanish prisons, but to the marquis or bishop who might lose his life in a governmental transition.

Hollywood Rebellion

by Conrad Seiler

HOLLYWOOD, fabulous city of make-believe, has been the scene of a labor struggle far more grim than any in its entire history. Progressive unionism, as represented by the organizations belonging to the Conference of Studio Unions, has scored a notable victory over the motion-picture producers and the reactionary leadership of the IATSE—the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees. This victory was made possible only through the heartbreaking sacrifice and determination of 7,000 strikers, who, led by Herbert K. Sorrell, fought on for almost eight months.

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The bitterness engendered among the strikers by police violence, unfair court injunctions against peaceful picketing, and the employment of "replacement workers" to take their jobs, will take a long while to disappear. On the morning of the very day, October 24, when Eric Johnston, the newly appointed "Czar" of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, announced to the world that the producers and the IATSE had capitulated and the strike was ended, the picket lines before Paramount and RKO studios were violently broken up by the police. Four hundred strikers, including 25 women, were arrested by officers equipped with clubs, revolvers, gas masks and tear gas.

How did the struggle begin? The Screen Set Designers, an independent union, decided to affiliate with

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the International Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, Local 1421. But the leaders of the IATSE, who had long wanted to gain control of all unions in the industry, strenuously objected. A high official of the IATSE was heard to say that he was getting ready to "take over the whole damn works." Previously, the estimable Willie Bioff, another IATSE official who was sentenced to the federal penitentiary for extortion, had had just such a plan. This danger of forced affiliation with the notoriously reactionary and dictatorial IATSE was recognized by a number of democratic unions, and they forthwith established the Conference of Studio Unions for their own protection.

Since the beginning of the strike the producers sedulously tried to convince the public, and also their own employees, that the Hollywood strike was merely a factional dispute between AFL unions, and that they—the producers—were completely helpless in the matter. It is true both the Conference of Studio Unions and the IATSE belong to the AFL. But the important fact is that from the unsavory days of Messrs. George Browne and Willie Bioff, the producers had always favored the undemocratic, if not corrupt, officialdom of the IATSE. They preferred to do business with dictatorial union bosses, trained in the fine art of telling their workers what to do.

Early this year the Set Designers' union was informed by the producers that no further negotiations would be possible with it: the IATSE was henceforth to be the bargaining agent. The Set Designers must consent to such an arrangement. They refused. On March 12 the strike began. The International Brotherhood of Painters backed up the Set Designers. It was not long before all affiliates of the Conference of Studio Unions were on the picket lines. With unseemly haste, the IATSE began recruiting strike-breakers, or "replacement workers," as they were more euphoniously called, and issued new charters to them.

More than a dozen motion-picture unions were now on strike, including the Screen Publicists' Guild, the Screen Analysts, the Office Employees, the painters, electricians, carpenters, machinists, etc. Picket lines were thrown around all major studios. Theatres were picketed first in outlying districts, then in Hollywood and Los Angeles. Strikers were sent to San Francisco and Seattle to establish picket lines in front of theatres. Every possible trick was employed by the producers and the non-striking IATSE to demoralize the strikers. They were told their jobs were lost forever; they would be blacklisted. The ever useful red herring was dusted off and hurled at the rebels, whose crime was fighting for unions of their own choosing. The local press, with a few admirable exceptions, "slanted" the news to discourage and demoralize the strikers.

The Set Designers had demanded certification from the NLRB as the legitimate union for the motion-picture industry. After months of deliberation, the NLRB rendered its amazing decision: the strikers as well as the "replacements," that is, the strike-breakers, should be given the right to vote!

There were few arrests at the beginning of the strike and for some time afterward. Many of the rank and file in the IATSE covertly expressed sympathy for the strikers, although most of them continued to pass through the studio picket lines. Actors, writers and musicians also continued to work. Nevertheless, studio activities were very much hampered. Some of the "replacements" turned out to be indifferent craftsmen.

As autumn came, the strike seemed to be bogging down. It was not unusual now to find a discouraged striker. The newspapers started a new policy of ignoring the existence of the strike. Then, quite suddenly and unexpectedly, an extraordinary thing happened. Warner Brothers' studio pushed the strike into the headlines with firehose, tear gas and blackjacks. That was on October 5—"Bloody Friday." Nothing remotely like this had ever happened before in the peaceful little town of Burbank, where the Warner Brothers' plant is located. Burbank is only a few miles from Hollywood. Along the magnificent macadam highway approaching the studio stand two large signs. One was erected by the Burbank Ministerial Association and reads: "WELCOME TO BURBANK—REMEMBER JESUS CHRIST." The other reads: "WARNER BROS.—COMBINING GOOD CITIZENSHIP WITH GOOD PICTURES."

Bloody Friday had indeed arrived. A few hundred peaceful pickets were walking back and forth before the entrance to the studio. Two automobiles, attempting to plow their way through the crowd, were overturned in the street. Then, not long after, the firehose, the blackjacks and tear gas were called into play. The firehose was expertly handled by the Warner Brothers' firemen. Many strikers—men and women—were knocked to the ground by the terrific force of the water and swept across the wide boulevard. Others were badly beaten up by the police and had to be hospitalized; still others were arrested.

The news of this outrage spread like wildfire. Many IATSE members were indignant and from now on refused to go to work. Help came from everywhere. A citizens' committee was organized to raise funds for the strikers. Actors, writers and other studio workers contributed very liberally. The strikers' strategy was now to focus their attention on Warner Brothers. Only token picket lines were maintained for some time at other studios.

On October 10, 307 pickets were arrested in front of Warner Brothers. They were dragged into the studio, illegally fingerprinted there on one of the sound stages, and finally taken off to the little Burbank jail. The bus drivers, who were not told what they were expected to do, walked off when they saw the prisoners. So the police drove their own buses.

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Bail was originally set at $500 per person, but after strike attorney Ben Margolis' protest, it was reduced to $50, then to $10. When all the prisoners threatened to stay in jail until they were tried—the jail was fairly bursting at the seams—the harassed judge decided to release them on their own recognizance. Among those arrested was Earl Robinson, well known composer of "Ballad for Americans" and "Lonesome Train." Mr. Robinson entertained the prisoners with many songs, which were roundly applauded. Then the prisoners sang for him. . . . Attorney Margolis insisted on individual jury trials for all 307 prisoners. It was calculated that the trials would take 14 years and 7 months. In behalf of his clients, Attorney Margolis also filed suits totaling $900,000 against Warner Brothers and the police.

Another mistake was made on October 10. The prisoners in the Burbank jail included several sympathizers from Lockheed Aeronautical Lodge of the International Association of Machinists—an AFL affiliate. These strike sympathizers were also union members in good standing. The following day, promptly at 7 a. m., several thousand workers from the Lockheed factory marched four abreast down the boulevard, with the American flag and the union banner at their head, and joined the pickets in front of the beleaguered studio.

On that same day a uniformed nurse was in the line. When she was asked about herself, she replied that wounded veterans at Sawtelle (the military hospital) had requested her to march with the pickets for *them*. They were unable to.

Women were as courageous on the picket lines as the men. Many times violence was anticipated, but they could not be dissuaded from appearing. Many were beaten up and arrested, wherever mass picketing took place.

At last the NLRB made up its mind, counted the votes and designated the Screen Set Designers, Local 1421 of the International Brotherhood of Painters, as the sole and legitimate bargaining agent—not the IATSE. But for some unknown reason the producers and their favored organization still held out. Then two powerful guilds—the Screen Actors, an AFL affiliate, and the Screen Writers, of the Authors' League of America—administered the *coup de grâce* by announcing that the strikers must all be taken back in the studios and their demands granted. The Screen Writers appointed official observers to report further acts of brutality.

The producers and the IATSE were whipped now and they knew it. Eric Johnston, president of the producers' association, was empowered to negotiate with the strikers and the IATSE. The IATSE was willing. The strikers had always been willing. On October 24 Mr. Johnston proclaimed from Cincinnati, where he had been closeted with the heads of the AFL, that the strikers' demands would be met. The strike of almost eight months was over. Warner Brothers are not members of the producers' association, but it is understood that they have already signified their intention of capitulating.

The strike of 7,000 Hollywood motion-picture workers has been won. It is an outstanding victory, not only for them but for decent, democratic unionism everywhere.

Three Poems

by Norman Macleod

A Dark Descent

The mind is like a mirror, a miracle whose light
Can drown within the image that blackens out my sight
Or stops beyond the eardrum to beat its murder in
Or drives along the fingers taking the tactual to
The terror that determines what we are and do.

Wherever the nostril nudges or mists upon the bright
Surface above the handle that held us once upright,
The taste and all our torture, the touch that brings
us through
The single thought distorts us and blurs
Our will and good,
O let it all be equal
To what I might have been
Before the mind accepted the dark descent within.

A Man Is a Shell Is a Harebell

The shell shall have no entrance
Other than the harebell has
Stem and interest of this earth.

Open as the atmosphere may seem
The halo of his hurt is felt
Wherever seasons are protracted
In memory's protective quilt.

A man is but five-fingered sense
However much his sap he suck

At rock's source or the sky's cup—
Nothing will ever drink it up.

Grand Concourse

Love in learning is the way to love
Though innocent is excellent and good.

(A fine cirque in its turn and blood
The sun in yellow takes, iron-toothed,

And all magenta flowers pressed between
The snow and, lifted, learning love.)

So it is your society to prove
And ask to take her wisdom

To your ways and populate
Your distance in her days.

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Strategy in the Atomic Age

by Potomacus

Although the United States Army and Navy are still preparing their plans for the future as though the atomic bomb did not exist, even the layman can see that the bomb will have important effects upon future strategy. The article below, written by a close student of the subject, makes an attempt to forecast military strategy, assuming that national armaments, other than atomic explosives, survive. – THE EDITORS

THREE MONTHS BEFORE atomic energy was unleashed against Hiroshima and Nagasaki, General MacArthur asserted: "The science of war has not changed but the art of war has." There is reason to believe that the General did not know of the progress which had been made in the laboratories and factories where work on the atomic bomb was being conducted; it is doubtful that he could still have made such a remark after the disclosure of this development. For the Superfortress which dropped the first atomic bomb did more than shatter Hiroshima; it dropped a bombshell into the military dovecotes of all the great powers. It would not be true to say that the science of war as it has been formulated through the ages has been wiped out, but it is certainly true that much of the old "knowledge" has been erased from the slate, and that there are now great areas in our military thinking which must be marked "Unexplored," like the interior of Africa on the maps of a century ago.

However, it should not be assumed that any conflict which may, unhappily, break out in the future must of necessity be fought along lines which make the Martian invasions of Wells and Welles seem like stodgy and unimaginative conceptions. While the perils of prophecy are even greater today than ever before, it is safe to say that *within the foreseeable future* atomic energy will be available only to a limited number of nations. Thus, within the select number of the "great powers," the new weapon creates a super-select class of greater powers.

At present, three powers have the "know-how" to make atomic weapons: the United States, Great Britain and Canada. It is now common knowledge that, broadly speaking, there is no atomic-bomb secret, and that the techniques and devices which are still restricted information can be reproduced by scientists in a number of countries in a comparatively limited time. For the moment, however, it is true that only the United States has both the knowledge and an industrial establishment large enough and strong enough to make atomic bombs without a terrific strain. Russia has the potential strength but lacks the technical knowledge and physical equipment. But this is certainly only a temporary situation, and within a few years Russia will be virtually abreast of the United States in this regard.

There will then be two truly first-class powers in the world. Britain, France and China will be "great powers" only by virtue of their superior status among the United Nations, as permanent members of the Security Council. Britain, if we ignore the dominions, will lack the large land area necessary for dispersal of factories and the natural resources and the manpower needed to compete with the new "Big Two." China will have the manpower and the area, and may have the natural resources in regions which have not been fully explored by mineralogists, but will lack the industrial establishment. France will have none of the essentials. And so on down the list.

Until atomic power becomes generally and cheaply available to all countries, the release of this subelementary force will do nothing to change the likelihood or the nature of conflict between countries low down in the table of relative powers. If a boundary dispute should recur between Bolivia and Paraguay, and recourse should be had to arms, it would be without benefit of nuclear physics.

However, the charter of the United Nations Organization suggests that small, local wars of this type will be virtually impossible, so long as the great powers are unanimous in wishing to prevent them. There is another type of limited conflict which also remains unaffected by atomic power, but which should be inhibited by the power of world opinion and organization: that is the campaign of aggression by a strong country against a neighbor in the colonial phase. None of these hypothetical cases could occur unless (a) four members of the Big Five backed one of their number in a program of aggression (which is most unlikely), or (b) one of the five decided to defy the other four (which is almost as unlikely).

It is among the Big Five themselves that the smashing of the atom has had its most revolutionary effect, not only in changing the relative standing of the powers, but also in sweeping aside the bases of their military thinking. Unfortunately, the military leaders of the United States, and particularly those in the naval service, have as yet given little or no indication that they realize how great is the change that has been wrought.

Potomacus is an office pseudonym.

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There is the same tendency to insist, as there was when aircraft first became an effective weapon (as distinct from an ineffective, experimental medium), that every offensive weapon is soon countered by the appropriate defensive weapon. What these old-fashioned military thinkers overlook is that not only has a new weapon been developed; rather, a new force has been unleashed. There is a fatal tendency to talk of atomic power only in terms of the atomic bombs (of different types) which were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The use of atomic power and the dropping of atomic bombs from airplanes are by no means synonymous. It is generally known that the Germans were far advanced in their experimentation into the use of atomic power as a military weapon. What seems to have been generally overlooked is that the Germans may well have lost the race because they had set their sights too high: they were aiming at a weapon with an atomic-power warhead which could be propelled from Germany against targets in Britain and the Low Countries. The limited information available indicates that they had virtually perfected the warhead, but met greater difficulty in finding means to launch it and propel it. It can be taken for granted that this difficulty will be overcome in the near future, if it has not been so already.

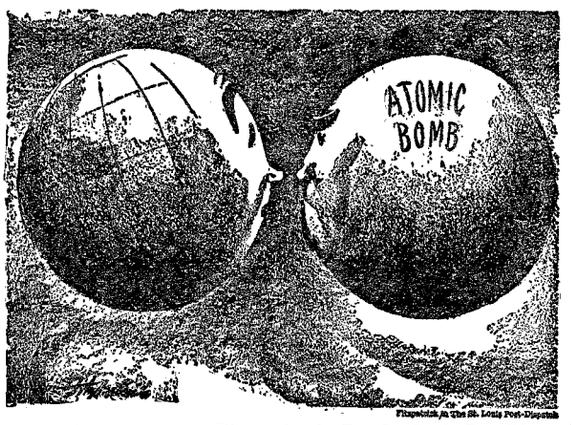
Whether the propellent is an adaptation of atomic power, or a rocket fuel of the types already in use for other weapons, is immaterial. The all-important point is that "the next war," if there is a next war between great nations with the resources to use atomic power as a weapon, will be fought largely by remote control, with missiles which can best be described as rocket-propelled atomic bombs.

The targets of such missiles would not be military installations, as these have been defined for generations. The First World War was won in the factories and shipyards of Britain and the United States, although men died by the hundreds of thousands in the mud of Flanders. The recent conflict was a more extreme example of the same process. Any future conflict must, inevitably, be a still more extreme case. The enemy's factories must be destroyed, because when they go, his power to wage war also goes.

THE FIRST STEP, then, would be to drop atomic bombs into the enemy's industrial areas. In a few minutes, an aggressor could lay waste vital areas thousands of miles away, without moving a man beyond his own shores. Obviously, prime targets would be the factories and power houses upon which the enemy depended for his own production of atomic weapons.

Naturally, the achievement of success in this sort of campaign would not be as easy as pressing a button. Devices must be perfected to ensure that the missile will "home" toward a worthwhile target, such as a concentration of steel, and not be content to plop into a cow pasture. The enemy will have a few defenses, and these must be discounted in advance. However, it is idle to pretend that a counter-measure to the rocket-propelled atomic bomb can be developed overnight. There was no defense against the V-2, which dropped with a speed far greater than that of sound, and there is danger in confusing the theoretical possibilities of the remote future with the probabilities of the present.

In the absence of direct counter-measures, what could a possible opponent do in a conflict of this type? Obviously, retaliation in kind, with weapons of



Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"Well—?"

the same character, must be attempted at once if it is to be effective. Both belligerents must have anticipated the form of attack to which they would be exposed, and must have taken steps to mitigate its effects upon their industrial establishment. So far, only two possibilities have been suggested: dispersal of factories throughout the countryside, leaving no concentration like Pittsburgh or Detroit to invite atomic missiles, and second, concealment of key factories underground. Neither of these measures, not even the two together, could give complete protection against serious damage, but they would reduce it to the point where it would become bearable, in a military sense. However, both of them are enormously difficult and costly, and could not be carried out except under government dictation in a system geared for war. In this country, dispersal and burrowing would probably be limited to government plants, and principally to those producing atomic-bomb components.

It is quite conceivable, and indeed likely, that a push-button blitz could reduce an enemy's industrial establishment to impotence, in the same way that Japan's was reduced by the strategic bombing of the Superforts, but within hours or days, rather than over a period of months. If the enemy country surrendered as Japan did, hostilities could be over before the victors moved a ship or a plane beyond their shores. All that would remain would be the task of occupation, with an army much like that which MacArthur is using in Japan; its advance guard would be moved by air, and the supporting elements would travel by ship.

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Naturally, it will be several years before a war can be fought along these lines. In the meantime, military strategists must be prepared for the possibility that the international organization to preserve the peace may fail, and therefore they must be prepared to conduct hostilities in the "old-fashioned" way (with super-bombers, jet-propelled fighters, air-borne divisions, tanks, landing craft, amphibious vehicles, flame-throwers and bazookas) against a second-class power lacking the means to employ atomic force and at the same time they must be prepared for a transitional type of conflict in which some of the familiar elements might be combined with the use of atomic weapons on a limited scale, against a first-class power with similar resources.

FOR THE United States, this means a radical revision in military thinking and organization. There must be a single department for national defense. Its constitution must recognize the widening gap between technological possibilities and the practical experience of middle-aged generals and admirals. Either the department must have two staffs, one of them devoted to research and the development of new weapons, the other resembling the present General Staff of the Army, or else the research and developmental branch must be recognized as the most important section under the General Staff, far outranking the present G-1 for administration, G-2 for intelligence, etc. The former course would be safer; otherwise there will always be the danger that scientific advance may be strangled by trench generals and battleship admirals.

The element of secrecy is so important that the American people and Congress may have to modify one of the oldest tenets of the democratic system, and agree to large grants for research (perhaps as much as a billion dollars a year) for which no precise accounting would be made.

During the transition period, which will overlap the occupation of Germany and Japan, the United States will need to have available an army of from 250,000 to 500,000 men, a large proportion of which must be capable of movement by air. Since it must be suitable for either a field campaign or occupation duty, it must be equipped with all the weapons developed during the war just ended. It will be the duty of the research branch to ensure that infantry weapons are kept up to date, because the infantry remains the only arm of the service which can occupy territory, and it may have to seize it against the survivors of an enemy garrison, no matter how great the artillery preparation, as at Iwo and Okinawa. But there is considerable reason to believe that the day of large field armies is past, and the *Panzerdivision* should soon go the way of the bow and arrow.

During this transition period, the air forces of the combined departments of defense will have need of bombers and fighters similar in basic conception to those now in use, but constantly improving in range, speed, load capacity and fire power. For a while it will not be possible to convey atomic explosives to the target except by bomber, and for a while after directed missiles have been developed, it may be necessary to use individual aircraft for special missions against small targets. Beyond that, the function of air power would seem to lie rather in the field of transportation than in combat.

The naval force also must undergo a drastic revision, regardless of the outcome of such experiments with atomic bombs as those suggested against the *Nagato*. Transportation by sea is so much more economical than by air or land that command of the sea will be just as necessary in the future as in the days of Nelson and Jellicoe and Nimitz. The aircraft-carrier is plainly a transitional weapon which will be as outmoded in the next five years as it was essential to the Allies in the last five years. The development of continental and island bases from which improved aircraft can operate will immediately modify and gradually reduce the possible uses of carriers. Seversky's ideas for seizing command of the sea with land-based air power probably will come true—but many years after the end of the war for which he offered them.

Gunnery ships (battleships, cruisers and destroyers) must be considered to have lost all validity in an age of rockets and directed missiles. As these weapons are made more accurate, it will become possible for a vessel of gunboat size, such as those improvised from LCI's for use against Pacific islands, to lay down a far heavier weight of explosive than the present capital ships, and with equal deadliness. American admirals kept their warships under sail for 30 years after sail became obsolete; they may keep thousands of tons of useless steel in the form of barbettes, turrets and gun-barrels in their bombardment ships for another 30 years—if they are allowed to.

THE STRATEGY and tactics which were valid from ancient times until yesterday, so long as men fought within sight of each other, within the range of an arrow or a bullet, are invalidated by the development of forces which can be applied over great distances. Aircraft began the process, directed missiles carried it farther, radar helped it—and now atomic force has completed it. An old-fashioned army to guard against internal rebellion and to protect a nation's borders against guerrilla operations may remain for generations, and so, perhaps, many of the trappings of the old military order will be preserved. But to be prepared for the possibility of a war of survival against a foe of approximately equal resources and resourcefulness, the men who are to be charged with the defense of this country should throw an atomic bomb into their accumulation of antique military lore, and start anew. For the science of war has changed once more.

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Washington Notes

Truman's Second Phase

PRESIDENT TRUMAN has given his views in three major statements on three major matters. Together, they represent the most important public discussions of his administration. They are given just as criticism rises against him for alleged lack of leadership. They go part way to dispel the air of oppression that has hung over the nation since the end of the war and the rise of The Bomb—one of the most ironic moods of defeatism after victory that history affords. Mr. Truman is now trying to give leadership. Has he got what it takes?

In these three speeches—on universal training, on world affairs and on domestic wage-price economics—Mr. Truman has made a bid, over the heads of Congress, to a nation that is yearning for leadership. The executive is stymied by the legislative. Unlike Mr. Attlee under the parliamentary system, Mr. Truman has a mandate from the voters without the power to carry it through. America has as much idealism, talent and brains as any other country on earth. But she has a system of divided government that puts a premium on mediocrity, upon chance and upon the second-rate. That is why, during the next half of this century, the world will probably continue to look in large measure for moral leadership not to Russia, not to the United States, but to Great Britain. Britain has again, for example, in the bold speeches by Labor leaders in the House of Commons protesting the present degradation of the German people, taken the lead. But to get back to Washington, Mr. Truman is undoubtedly trying to appeal to the public over the heads of Congress, and a new phase of his administration begins.

I listened to Mr. Truman's speech on universal training, which was one of the strongest and most vigorous of his career. Frankly, he persuaded me. It is an issue on which honest men may differ, however, and it will not be argued here. It is a fact that Truman is bucking a wellnigh irresistible trend toward full demobilization, not to say demilitarization. Just as things stand today, for instance, I am told it would take 18 months for the country to remobilize its armed strength. Truman's strongest argument is that if America hopes to make her idealism effective, she must have the military force to command respect. With other reporters, I interviewed congressmen afterwards. Many praised Truman, agreed with his arguments —and added that he didn't have a chance in a dozen of getting his program through. The public doesn't want conscription. The danger, I fear, is that universal training will be rejected for the wrong reasons, that idealism and apathy will form a strange coalition and that the world's richest nation will be left with neither a strong policy to create world peace nor adequate force to defend itself.

Truman's Navy Day speech was handed out Friday evening, following earlier announcement that it would be among the President's "most important utterances." Reporters scanned it hastily. Here was a 12-point program of world interest. Here was reference to The Bomb. Big subjects, big stuff! There was an eloquent appeal against growing cynicism, skepticism. And yet, when analyzed, there seemed a certain fuzziness around the edges. It was hard to pick the lead. Other nations were told not to fear America's control of The Bomb, because it was being held as a sacred trust. Ho-hum. And it was announced that America will not recognize any government imposed by outside force. Here again, something hedged with uncertainty is stated as an absolute. The 12 points read well, showed careful preparation. Just as in his 40-point message to Congress, which is rapidly getting nowhere, Mr. Truman has stated his goals, and they are liberal and good. But how far is he prepared to carry the fight? That is the question we here in Washington have been asking ourselves for quite a while now.

Third, of course, is the wage-price discussion. Much the same factors enter here. Prior to Mr. Truman's radio address, it became obvious that the Administration was moving toward a general policy of holding the price line where it is, and of allowing some wage advances to workers, the cost of the latter to come out of the stored fat in corporations' war profits. Just how big these profits are was revealed in the confidential study prepared by government economists, and given last week to the 12-man advisory board of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. The report was spectacular and immediately leaked out. It indicated that manufacturing corporations could give a 14-percent wage boost and still have $6.3 billion in profits in 1946 after taxes—almost three times the prewar average. If the wage increase were 24 percent, the estimated over-all profits would still be $4.8 billion.

Where would such profits come from? Well, to some degree anyway, from the hand-out of the excess-profits-tax repeal which Congress is giving to big corporations just as the Treasury starts out to borrow $11 billion in the final war-loan drive. Just by itself, this huge grant to the corporations, it is estimated, would permit a 10-percent wage increase to factory workers. (What a chilling thought such a proposal would be to the manufacturers' tax lobby!)

It is hard to gainsay these facts, no matter how furiously they are assailed. Mr. Vinson was saying substantially the same thing six months ago. Here again the question is whether the Administration will now carry them out to their logical conclusion.

George Allen appears to be the Harry Hopkins of the Truman Administration. He is the man to whom the President unburdens himself. Allen is 49; genial, convivial, a good story-teller. He comes from Mississippi; the late Senator Pat Harrison brought him to Washington. He's vice-president of the New York Home Insurance Company, a former District of Columbia commissioner, and has held half a dozen federal offices. He has free access to the White House, goes over things with the President nearly every day, accompanies him on trips. Like Truman, he impresses visitors as a man from Main Street who is now beginning to find out about the big world. By his own definition he is a liberal, though it is doubtful if he would see eye to eye with ex-protégé Harry Hopkins.

Washington T. R. B.

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The Bandwagon

ITALY IS FOUND IN NEED OF
DATA ON STYLE TRENDS
—*Headline in the New York* Herald Tribune.

"The Communists must accept something without knowing whence it comes, and defend it in all ways with casuistry or otherwise, while the Catholic Church insists that we base faith on reason."—*Louis F. Budenz, former managing editor of the* Daily Worker, *who was recently accepted back into the Catholic Church, as quoted in the St. Paul* Pioneer Press.

GETTING DIVORCE

5 rooms, furniture for sale. Quick before wife gets back. 1444 N. Sycamore.—*Advertisement in the Los Angeles* Daily News.

Stet!

UN-AMERICAN GROUP
TO SCAN NEWS SCRIPTS
—*Headline in the San Francisco* Chronicle *over a story on the House Un-American Activities Committee's request to review the scripts of seven prominent radio news commentators.*

That All-Out Effort

Lizabeth Scott, heroine of "You Came Along" . . . was Elizabeth Scott [in 1941]. During the war she patriotically dropped the "E" to conserve newsprint.—*From the Seattle* Post-Intelligencer.

Brave New World

The NAM official states flatly that "our patent system is the best means ever devised by mankind for giving inventors an incentive to invent, manufacturers an incentive to manufacture new products, and investors an incentive to invest in production of new and better products and processes." . . . Fruits of that system, he says, are about to be realized in full. One of them will be ever-creased pants.—*From the San Francisco* Examiner.

". . . the Playing Fields of Eton"

In an interview with Joe Livingston, sports writer for the Atlanta *Journal*, Trippi [Charlie Trippi, ace Georgia halfback] said, "My commanding officer couldn't send me overseas because attached to my file was a card which said 'Frozen—hold for 1945 football project.'"—*AP story from Atlanta.*

Free and Equal

Tom Jones, twenty-four-year-old Negro, was fatally wounded on Saturday evening by the Town Marshal of Woodville, Mississippi. . . .

The Negro was aboard a Greyhound bus from New Orleans, Louisiana. Upon arrival at Woodville the Negro started an argument with the bus driver over the whereabouts of his baggage. The argument became heated and the bus driver went and secured the Town Marshal who, according to Mayor Stockett, upon arriving at the scene found the condition such as made it necessary to shoot the Negro.—*From the Natchez* Democrat.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.*—THE EDITORS

Correspondence

The Army, the Negro, and Strikers

SIR: The army openly invited a race riot in New York City on October 10 and 11, when it ordered Negro troops to load the big British liner *Queen Elizabeth*, on which rank-and-file strikers of the International Longshoremen's Association had refused to work. Employment of the troops was an attempt at strikebreaking by the army, with colored soldiers forced to assume the role of scabs.

Violent race conflicts have often originated in the replacement of white strikers by Negro workers. The worst outbreaks of this kind in the country's history were the draft riots in New York City from July 13 to 18, 1863, during which 450 persons were killed and more than $2 million worth of property destroyed. They resulted from the use of Negroes to replace striking white longshoremen.

During the spring and early summer of 1863, New York longshoremen, many of them unionized in the Longshoremen's Protective and Benevolent Association, struck for a pay raise from $1 to $1.50 a day, their wages having remained stationary since the beginning of the Civil War in the face of soaring prices. The shipping companies and railroads countered, however, by bringing in Negro laborers from the outside. This gave rise to outbreaks of interracial violence along the city's waterfront which culminated in the bloody draft riot of July, 1863, when scores of Negroes were beaten and burned to death and whole colored neighborhoods wiped out. And in the van of the lynch mobs marched the white longshoremen of New York.

The army, which has fostered racial antagonism within its own ranks by Jimcrow policies, did a foolish thing in a highly explosive labor situation.

Hollis, N. Y. ALBON P. MAN JR.

British Labor's Foreign Policy

SIR: I was vexed, perplexed and a little nauseated by K. Zilliacus' article, "British Labor's Foreign Policy" (the *New Republic*, October 1). The policy so far delineated and implemented is completely anomalous. Unless the article was fraught with allusions and implications obscure to the uninitiated, it was as hollow and empty of substance as a starveling's belch. When the world has been led to expect a thorough laundering, it was depressing to follow Mr. Zilliacus' frantic rummaging through a drawerful of dirty linen in a hapless effort to find a single clean item as evidence of probity.

What set of circumstances justify the tiptoeing Mr. Bevin has indulged in? Mr. Zilliacus affords no satisfaction. Is it so inconceivable that a party whose pre-election avowals received such an overwhelming and enthusiastic endorsement should institute prompt measures to carry out those resolutions? The situation has the somewhat ridiculous aspect of a man armed with a shotgun maneuvering like a fencer.

The article indicated that Mr. Bevin's words and efforts so far have been rapturously acclaimed by the Tory press. And most reasonably! They might have emanated from the late Mr. Chamberlain. As outlined by Mr. Zilliacus, the Foreign Min-

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ister was "unsatisfactory" on the atomic-bomb issue; "careful not to commit himself" as regards Hong Kong; "replied with a very guarded and qualified affirmative" to the Tory request that there be no change in the previous imperialistic attitude toward colonies; "used language indistinguishable from that of the previous government," etc., in the issue of democracy in Europe; "unsatisfactory" in his references to Greece—until one exclaims in disgust and exasperation, "What in the hell!"

New York City LT. W. R.

Information About Dr. William Rimmer

SIR: I am engaged upon a life of the painter, sculptor and anatomist, Dr. William Rimmer of Boston. I would be very grateful if anyone who knows of the existence of paintings, drawings, letters or other material relative to Dr. Rimmer, will communicate with me. He was active in Providence, New York and Boston between 1860 and 1878. My address is 637 Madison Avenue, New York 22.

New York City LINCOLN KIRSTEIN

Bunk Johnson in New York

SIR: In an article published in your October 22 issue, "Old Bunk Opens in New York," Fred R. Miller states: "The compilers of the hot discographies and the writers of the jazz books had never heard of Bunk." (As of September 28, 1945.)

Reading that statement gave me the hopeless sort of feeling that must have been experienced by many a Buchenwald inmate who, upon returning to consciousness, inquired first of his guard, "What have I done that I am here?" With others, I am a writer of jazz books (*Jazzmen*, Harcourt, Brace, 1939; *The Jazz Record Book*, Smith and Durrell, 1942) and they both had a lot to say about Bunk. In *Jazzmen*, Charles Edward Smith and I placed an excerpt from a letter Bunk had written on the Dedication Page of the book. Bunk's whole story is recounted in the text, and a plea is made for his recognition. Indeed, your writer's statement (1945): "Old Bunk himself had put his horn behind him long ago and was working in the Louisiana rice fields," echoes our Introduction to *Jazzmen* (as of 1939); "Like Willie Bunk Johnson, they have had to forego former glories, abandon music, drive a truck for $1.75 a day during the rice season, and starve the rest of the time."

Men like Bunk were the special concern of *Jazzmen* authors, and because this was so, our book was assailed violently in the *New Republic* by John O'Hara, whose feelings were hurt because we hadn't devoted more space to those great unknowns of jazz, his friends Paul Whiteman and the late George Gershwin.

New York City FREDERIC RAMSEY JR.

SIR: It's okay with me if Mr. Ramsey wants to get in plugs for the brace of "jazz books" he helped to write. All I can say is that Bunk Johnson's name is not listed in the index to *The Jazz Record Book*, which Mr. Ramsey claims has "a lot to say about Bunk." To leave Bunk out of it for the moment, I'm sure Mr. Ramsey would not care to deny the statement that no member of the band, with the exception of Baby Dodds, a comparatively well known jazzaroo, was ever mentioned in a "jazz book" of general circulation. Robinson, Lewis and Marrero first came to public notice via their Climax and J. I. records, issued a year or two back. It's true that Bunk got a bit of a play in *Jazzmen* and I regret having overlooked or forgotten it; what I ought to have said was that the writers of the 13 or 14 "jazz books" preceding *Jazzmen* did not mention Bunk. In any case, I didn't say that Bunk was completely unknown before he opened in New York—what I wrote was that "until quite recently" he and his bandsmen were unknown outside of New Orleans; and anyway I wasn't telling the story of Bunk's belated "discovery" but of his band's surprise opening here in town.

Staten Island, N. Y. FRED R. MILLER

P. S. The band's new schedule at the Stuyvesant Casino is Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday nights from nine to one, and Sunday afternoons from two to five.

Mark Starr for City Council

SIR: Mark Starr, the well known educator, is running for the City Council in New York's municipal elections. Particularly in view of the alarming situation in the New York school system, no man is more needed in the Council than Mr. Starr. We urge the voters of the Borough of Queens to support him.

Queens, N. Y. A GROUP OF PROGRESSIVE VOTERS

Big Business as Patron of Music

SIR: Music lovers are grateful to those big corporations—U. S. Rubber, Allis-Chalmers, Texaco and others—which in recent years have subsidized symphonic music and opera. They seem to have solved, or all but solved, the serious deficit problem which plagued the fine arts in this country. Millions can enjoy superb performances over the radio in addition to the concert and opera-goers.

However, the corporate patrons are hardly as enlightened as they claim to be. *Noblesse oblige.* If a thing is worth doing, it is worth doing well. The radio public is not unreasonable, but it feels that it is not getting the balanced musical programs which the great orchestras and eminent conductors arrange and play. Of the Boston Symphony's programs we get just an hour, while the patrons at Symphony Hall enjoy a full program, lasting an hour and three-quarters. An hour of good music is a fine gift, but a program fashioned to consume 100 minutes has a balance and a variety which the drastically shortened one lacks. Would it be impossible to do better over the radio by paying for longer programs? Would the corporate patrons have to pass dividends, or reduce them? Is it churlish to suggest a little more generosity on their part, a little more respect for artistic standards?

Of the New York Philharmonic we get an hour and a half, which includes the intermission talk—a welcome and interesting feature—but of the musical program we get less than two-thirds. The total impression is less satisfying than it might be. Could not the patron of these concerts give us the whole program at a cost not really prohibitive?

La Jolla, Calif. VICTOR S. YARROS

From The New Republic Mail Bag

The Reverend Hugh Chamberlain Burr, executive secretary of the Federation of Churches of Rochester and Vicinity, and a member of the American Civil Liberties Union, while opposed to the Mead-Aiken bill, defends the release-time system, which, he says, "brings the basic significance of religion into the life of children whose parents desire it for them on a basis comparable with the other 'R's' of life. . . . The bringing of the religion of the choice of the family into the picture of the essential things on week days is being done not to bolster Sunday-school attendance, but to develop the capacities and character in children without which our Republic cannot long continue to exist."

Mr. Morris Milgram, secretary of the Workers' Defense League, writes on behalf of the Farmers' Coöperative Store at Spruce Pine, Alabama, which he describes as a solvent enterprise organized by the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, including Negro and white farmers and sharecroppers. The group is starting a lending library, as there is no public library available, and would be grateful for gifts to start them off.

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DOES AMERICA NEED A STRONG ENGLAND?

There's dynamite in the growing rift between England and the United States—and it takes a man like Sir Norman Angell, Nobel Peace Prize winner, to reveal it clearly and courageously. He meets pointed questions that are frequently asked, but seldom answered with authority. Is England really on the edge of economic ruin? Why should we help restore her to a position of world leadership, when we can expect the stiffest kind of trade competition? Suppose we don't help—how grave are the dangers to which we expose ourselves—military as well as economic? And finally, what is the truth about her recent "socialist revolution"—a truth most American commentators muffed badly?...It took courage for an Englishman to present this unvarnished picture of Britain today. Norman Angell has produced a notable document for all Americans to read, in "America Needs A Strong England."

THE FATE OF WARTIME MARRIAGES

They're breaking up. The very boys and girls who rushed to the altar under the impetus of war are rushing just as avidly to the divorce courts under the impetus of peace. Precisely why are there so many marriages in wartime...and why are so many of them —38 per cent—ending in divorce? Citing dramatic case histories, "The Fate of Wartime Marriages" reports on a vast social problem that is almost sure to involve people near and dear to each of us.

THE AMERICAN MERCURY—for November—NOW ON SALE

General de Gaulle by Henry C. Wolfe presents a fresh interpretation of the enigmatic general of whom we will continue to hear so much...*What Doctors Know About Headache* may help you find out what to do about yours, if you are a headache-sufferer...*Record of an Industrial Miracle* reveals the almost fantastic job which American Industry did in the war...There's a charming nostalgia in *The Gracious and Spacious Days* by Charles Hanson Towne, and the very opposite in the tale of the Robinson Crusoes of the war in *Battle of the Rocks* by two veteran marines...There is a delightful short story, *Far Be It From Me*. Alan Devoe writes on *Leeches*, Philip Wylie about *Sinclair Lewis*' newest book, and George Jean Nathan on *The Bear Market in Comedians*. Other articles such as *Sumner Welles: Diplomat De Luxe*, *The Ordeal of Yugoslavia*, and *Switzerland: Prosperity and Freedom* round out a full, rich issue. Altogether a rewarding quarter's worth of good reading.

The American Mercury and Russia

John Foster Dulles recently broadcast the following statement: "For over four years, every meeting of representatives of the great powers was followed by a pronouncement which gave the impression that complete harmony had been achieved. That was the war diet of soothing syrup. The reality was that there was unity in so far as it related to joint effort against common enemies. But behind that there have always been the differences which are now coming to light." THE AMERICAN MERCURY has never given its readers any soothing syrup. It has insisted on realistically recognizing the fundamental differences between totalitarianism and democracy. It has insisted on telling the truth, no matter how unpopular that truth was at a given moment. Our attitude has evoked criticism because it has been mistaken for hostility toward Russia. We firmly believe that it is essential that Russia and the United States cooperate in peace as well as in war. But not at the sacrifice of our basic principles. We will continue to guide our readers in their thinking by presenting facts rather than soothing syrup.

Lawrence E. Spivak PUBLISHER

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Books in Review

Aidgarpo

WHEN George Soule made a tour of the Soviet Union some years ago, he was invited to attend a meeting of the Georgian poets in Tiflis. They sat at a big round table drinking toasts in Caucasian wine. Then for a moment they fell silent while the translator said to George, "The poets want to know why Americans don't appreciate their own great poet Aidgarpo."

"Who?" said George.

"Aidgarpo," said the translator, putting the accent on the second syllable to rhyme with Harpo.

"Oh . . . I see. We call him Edgar Allan Poe. He is, well, he isn't sentimental enough to satisfy most Americans."

George was looking for a simple answer that wouldn't lead to arguments. He must have found the right one, for the poets went on to other topics, after drinking a formal toast to Aidgar Al*an*po. Really to explain why Poe has a greater reputation in Europe, and beyond the borders of Europe, than he has in his own country would have taken George all afternoon, and even then the Soviet poets mightn't have understood.

Had he tried to be accurate, he could have begun by saying that, in one sense, Poe *is* appreciated in the United States; that he is more widely read than any other author of what we now describe as our classical period; that he is also more widely imitated; that there have been more editions of Poe, more biographies and critical studies, than of all his New England contemporaries put together. He could have mentioned the Poe cottages, the Poe houses, the Poe shrines maintained in cities where he lived, as well as the collections assembled at great expense by the bibliophiles who specialize in Poe material.

He would have been forced to add, however, that almost all this appreciation or commemoration is of the wrong sort. The readers of Poe are usually of high-school age or mentality. The imitations of Poe are in the pulp-paper magazines. The editions of Poe, with a few exceptions (fortunately including the present one-volume selection by Philip Van Doren Stern[1]), are carelessly put together; and they are embellished with some of the worst copper engravings in all the history of romantic bad taste. The rhapsodies on Poe are mostly by third-rate critics. The biographies are often much better; but the very first of them, by Rufus Wilmot Griswold, was malicious to the point of criminal libel, and it was almost a hundred years before Griswold's forgeries were exposed. For most Americans, Poe and his work have been lost in a theatrical legend. In order to find again what he really wrote, and to judge it at something like its true value, we have to dig for it under an accumulated mass of sentimental valentines, poison-pen letters, high-school notebooks and ladies' lace handkerchiefs wet with tears. And having finally disinterred his remains, we are likely to find something else than our ideal of the great American writer.

For example, we find—as George Soule might have explained to the Soviet poets—that Poe is not at all in the main current of American literature; not even in one of the minor currents. One can trace a line that runs from Hawthorne to Henry James to T. S. Eliot, and thence to most of the poets writing today. One can trace another line that runs from the frontier humorists to Mark Twain, and thence to Hemingway and all his imitators. One can trace the history of naturalism in the American novel and of Whitmanism in American poetry; but Poe stands off to the side. Like other American authors, he had his predecessors and his disciples, but the former were rather obscure figures, like Charles Brockden Brown for the tales and Thomas Holley Chivers for the later poems; while the disciples in America were horror-story fictioneers or jingle-bell poets; in any case, men who played no part in the history of American writing.

Not only was his work outside the main currents of our literature; it also stood apart from American life. For this reason, the purely sociological critics have had a hard time dealing with Poe; they have been unable to find more than minor connections between the man and his milieu. They found, it is true, that he regarded himself as a member of the Virginia slave-holding gentry, and mirrored the beliefs of that class when he touched on social or political topics; but they also had to admit that he touched on such topics rarely. They found that his formal style had something to do with the ideals of chivalry surviving in the South. They found that he conducted his own Civil War against the New England critics. But having made these observations, they left their readers with the feeling that everything important about Poe was still to be explained.

There are, however, two aspects of his work, both neglected by the sociological critics, that are nevertheless completely of his time and nation. Living in the great age of American invention and the first age of American showmanship, he distinguished himself in both fields.

In all his critical work, he revealed a mechanistic attitude toward literature. A story or a poem, he believed, was essentially a machine for producing an "effect," that is, for arousing a given emotion in its readers. In his review of Hawthorne, he says: "A skillful artist has constructed a tale. He has not fashioned his thoughts to accommodate his incidents, but having deliberately conceived a certain *single effect* to be wrought, he then invents such incidents, he then combines such events, and discusses them in such a tone as may best serve him in establishing this preconceived effect." In explaining how he wrote "The Raven," he says: "It is my design to render it manifest that no one point in its composition is referable either to accident or intuition—that the work proceeded, step by step, to its completion with the precision and rigid consequence of a mathematical problem." Again, in *Marginalia*, he defines

[1] Edgar Allan Poe, edited by Philip Van Doren Stern. The Viking Portable Library. New York: The Viking Press. 664 pages. $2

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the ideal plot as "that from which no component atom can be removed, and in which none of the component atoms can be displaced, without ruin to the whole." The definition would also apply to an efficient machine, which can produce its effect without any excess parts or wasted motions. In some ways Poe resembled the half-crazed inventors of his time, working in poverty to discover, let us say, a process for vulcanizing rubber—and dying in poverty after the discovery was made—much more than he resembled any other American writer. His hatred of plagiarism, expressed so often in his criticisms, was exactly the attitude of an inventor toward those who infringe his patents.

In his eagerness to create effects, Poe was a showman too; and he was not always nice in his choice of materials. Like the stage manager of a company touring the provinces, he made the best of what was at hand; if buckram had to serve for silk brocade, glass for jewels and bombast for emotion, why should he care, so long as the audience was properly impressed? The American audience of his time was not distinguished for its taste, yet all his effects had to be measured by its reactions; and he had to compete for its attention with elocutionists, travelers from the Holy Land and the freaks in Barnum's Museum. All this explains the cheapness or vulgarity for which Poe has often been blamed, and with reason; but his critics have usually neglected to say that the quality is completely absent from his early stories and poems. He did his best work in the years when the audience had scarcely heard of him.

He lived in a period when most American writers were dilettantes, with Irving, Cooper and N. P. Willis almost the only exceptions; and yet he worked hard to establish professional standards of authorship. He wrote and lobbied for an international copyright law; he defended his colleagues against the British critics. In his own writing, however, he showed no interest in using American speech or even in portraying the American background. Long afterwards the critics went through his work looking for native landscapes. They found a few of these: Sullivan's Island, near Charleston, in "The Gold Bug" and glimpses of Westchester County in "Landor's Cottage"; the hills near Charlottesville, Virginia, in "A Tale of the Ragged Mountains" and the Richmond waterfront in the first episode of "Arthur Gordon Pym." But the critics, if they were honest, had to admit that he usually described the landscapes of an inner world, which were as formless and colorless as the background of a dream. The places he mentioned were remembered from his reading more often than from his actual travels; he liked to situate his stories in "some large, old, decaying city near the Rhine," or in "an abbey, which I shall not name, in one of the wildest and least frequented portions of fair England." But the real setting of all his work was a book-lined chamber, anywhere, in which Poe sat dreaming. He was describing his own case when he wrote, at the beginning of "Berenice":

> The recollections of my earliest years are connected with that chamber, and with its volumes—of which I will say no more. Here died my mother. Herein was I born. . . . Thus awaking from the long night of what seemed, but was not, nonentity, at once into the very regions of fairyland—into a palace of imagination—into the wild dominions of monastic thought and erudition—it is not singular that I gazed around me with a startled and ardent eye—that I loitered away my boyhood in books, and dissipated my youth in revery; but it *is* singular that as years rolled away, and the noon of manhood found me still in the mansion of my fathers—it *is* wonderful what stagnation there fell upon the springs of my life—wonderful how total an inversion took place in the character of my commonest thought. The realities of the world affected me as visions, and as visions only, while the wild ideas of the land of dreams became, in turn—not the material of my everyday existence—but in very deed that existence utterly and solely in itself.

The library was his birthplace as an author; it was the imagined scene of his mother's death and of his own betrothal (which he also regarded as a *betrayal* of his dead mother); it was the real setting of his visions; in brief, it was his fatherland. No wonder, then—as George Soule might have explained to the Soviet poets—that Poe has always seemed a little foreign to American critics; no wonder that his work "carries well" into foreign languages—*qu'il porte bien*, as the French say of a wine that loses none of its flavor when exported. His stories deal with emotions that are intense and unusual, but almost never localized; they can be understood just as well by the French or the Russians as they were understood by his Virginia neighbors. His sentence structure is logical, his vocabulary is somewhat abstract, and he uses very few of the homely words that have no equivalents in other languages. His work in general is an ideal subject for translation.

He had the good luck, moreover, to find the ideal translator. When Charles Baudelaire was a young man of twenty-five—the year was either 1846 or 1847 and Poe was still living—he happened to run across some fragments of Poe's work, probably the earliest French versions of one or two magazine pieces. At once Baudelaire felt "a singular commotion," as he said many years later in a letter to his friend Armand Fraisse. "Since Poe's complete works were not collected in a uniform edition until after his death," he continued, "I had patience enough to be friendly with Americans living in Paris, so that I could ask them to lend me files of the magazines that Poe had edited. And then I found, believe me if you will, poems and stories that already existed in my mind, but in vague, confused and disorderly fashion; Poe had been able to put them together and bring them to perfection." Baudelaire had possessed some knowledge of English since his school days, but now he studied it again, as preparation for translating the stories. He continued working on them till 1865, just before his last illness. Much of his own critical work and several of his later poems were influenced by Poe; for example, there is one fine poem, "La Voix," that is clearly based on the passage I quoted from "Berenice."

In his translations, Baudelaire was extremely accurate; he tried to follow Poe's sentence structure and even his curious system of punctuation, with dashes where other writers would use commas. Yet his taste was better than Poe's, and often, without changing the sense, he found a less ornate word or a simpler construction. Moreover, he translated only what he regarded as the essential Poe: forty-three of the tales as against sixty-eight in American editions, besides *Eureka* and three of the shorter essays. He omitted most of the space-filling journalism; and the result is that Poe, in Baudelaire's translation, stands clear of the rubbish with which his grave has been encumbered. Reading Poe in French, one can see his importance in the his-

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tory of European and world literature. He stands at the exact beginning of the doctrine of art for art's sake (or life for art's sake); he stands at the exact point of transition between the Gothic romance, set in a haunted German castle, and that modern type of story in which the terror, as Poe said, "is not of Germany, but of the soul"; and he also stands at the exact point where Romantic poetry is transformed into Symbolist poetry. Poe, in fact, was the first to state the doctrines that French poets—and after them English, German, Russian and even American poets—would continue to develop for a hundred years after his death.

Even the English and American poets learned those doctrines indirectly through Baudelaire rather than directly from Poe. Baudelaire was a less original thinker, but he was a much greater poet; and not the least of his poetic creations was the mythical figure of an American writer, which grew bigger and mistier as it traveled eastward—until it crossed the high mountains that divide Europe from Asia, and the Georgian poets at their meeting in Tiflis drank a toast to Aidgarpo.

The one-volume Poe that Philip Van Doren Stern has edited for the Viking Portable Library presents a rather comprehensive picture of the man and his work. Besides a chronology of Poe's life and a biographical introduction, it contains fifty pages of Poe's letters; twenty-four of his best tales; four of his essays printed in full, and two others in part; twenty-four of his poems; and a brief selection of his critical opinions, mostly from *Marginalia*. The text is that of the Virginia Edition.

I miss "The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym," which is Poe's longest story and which, though hastily written, ends with the finest passage in all his works. I also miss, but not so keenly, "The System of Doctor Tarr and Professor Fether," which is the best example of his grotesque humor, and "The Colloquy of Monos and Una," greatly admired by Baudelaire. If Mr. Stern had been more familiar with the European history of Poe's influence, he would have been more impressed by the force and originality of his critical opinions. But for all these minor faults, *The Viking Portable Poe* is the best one-volume selection of his work that anyone has made. MALCOLM COWLEY

Shortest Way to Nirvana

The Perennial Philosophy, by Aldous Huxley. New York: Harper and Brothers. 312 pages. $3.

LORD, LORD, you who know that my unworthiness to review this breviary of mystical touchstones is almost as great as Aldous Huxley's strivings to reach you by texts, precepts, and the will of those who could not love you half so much disliked they not existence more—Lord, hear out my complaint against this book, yet let me praise first the passion, the scope, the image of an ideal, with which it has been made. Riding up and down the ladders of the steel cities, flung every day into a vortex of gas where eloquence is a trap to make us buy and words are used for what they will conceal, surrounded as we are by victims who suffer without a cause and the living who are steadily betrayed in an atmosphere of perfect good will, we can at least rejoice in a book which is addressed to the dignity of man and not his bitterness, to the imagination and not to the wise guy. There are visions recaptured in our day, Lord, which are irrelevant but not unmindful of what we are and how

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we live. How good it is to have these visions even if they lead us nobly nowhere on the path we have appointed since your son Luther's time! How good it is to be reminded that there is a wisdom of the heart which is not kindness but a deeper knowledge!

But irrelevant, Lord, irrelevant. In our day there are still many who seek you, you who are not the end of their seeking but the way in which they seek. Of these there are several kinds. First, there are those who own you in name, knock at your door familiarly as at a casket of jewels which will open at the magic word, and are useless to us and themselves. These are the eternal priests, the Petty Inquisitors, the magisterial believers; those who have taken shares in your unlimited company and are quick to feel everyone's guilt but their own. Their ways are benign, their politics are usually low, and they seek to make us meet you by rising from a Fall which is nowhere but in their conception of man. They still build Gothic in our time so that the least possible amount of light will be let into the greatest possible mass of doctrine, and in the same proportion as we suffer because you are so remote and so high, so they make a virtue of our difficulty in reaching you and a hierarchy in the social state is defended. Thus, you become King all the more as there will be many other Kings and Masters to appease before reaching you. I do not like these, Lord, and for the most part neither does your son Aldous. But he is not sure, he wavers. At times he seeks you so frantically on any ground that he joins forces with them. For he can never resist a theological statement perfectly expressed, and Lord, these men have furnished many beautiful statements, their prayer-books are chains of pearl, and Aldous is much taken with them. That is one of the many reasons why he does not love you well.

Then there are the people who seek you without often knowing that they do; or if they do know, properly think it more imperative to prove you than to invoke you—these are the men who speak at least one small portion of the truth so firmly that they are worth to us more than the saints and all the canons. These are the partisans for people, when they speak not in the name of the people but for all the rights of the living being; who know that all the truth of our condition would be more important to us than a new plan of reform, and even as they say *You are this and not the other*, or *You lie here without need; You hate too much and why do you hate at all?* bring you to us and love you best. These are the men—poets, doctors, revolutionaries, exiles—who have the insight to tell us that we are not innocent, and the courage to make us see that guilt is a sign and not a sentence. Often they deny you, and why should they not? Often they affirm you without words, and how better to worship you? They know that life is a problem, the setting of the problem honestly being the most human grace; that life is a poem, the measures of which are set by the depth and length of our awareness; but that it is only in specific problems and particular poems, fashioned by different men in various ways, that the bridge is crossed between insight and wisdom. But your son Aldous does not believe that these men know you and seek you. That is another reason why he does not love you well; he thinks you are above time, history, suffering. Lord, what else are you if you do not rise out of these?

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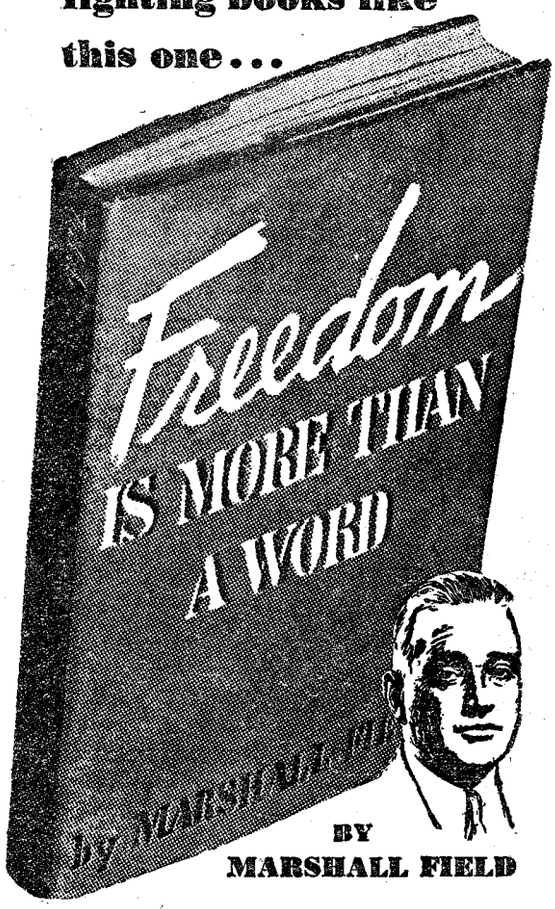

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are afraid—who pray to you in the dark because you are the dark; who hate themselves and therefore think that only you will love them; who use you for a thrill which they cannot define, for a service which they cannot use, to cover up a life which they do not live. These are not much, Lord, yet they are all of us; because we are men we seek out causes, and when we do not seek well we fall on you. Among these several types may be distinguished. There are those who are afraid and do not know; these seek you out by animism, by magic and spells, by indulgences to everyone but themselves. There are those who are afraid and know too well without binding their knowledge to men and to history: these are many in our time, Lord; they work by hatred, by deliberate myths, and by the false logic of sensationalism—to them the spasm is worth more than the life, is indeed higher than life. Finally, there are the men who are afraid because they are not attached to life, who think that life is something other than men, and men other than their "passions"; who are mystical not because the Godhead is in them or they in you, but because mysticism is symmetrical, severe, a dream in ideal forms that lifts us spasmodically above the murk. These are the men, Lord, who would seek in our condition to will us back to the ecstasies of men who lived in quite another; who think that the love of you is different in kind from the love of men for each other. These do not love at all; they recoil from the stink of life; for them life is raw and uninteresting, theories are graces, and if you must look at man, a rationalized description *ad hoc* from the latest findings in biology is so much more pleasing than failure, anxiety and natural bewilderment. Of such is your son Aldous: much-learned; deeply, deeply earnest, a true witness of our condition and an honest man, but helpless to help us, for he will not see where anything begins or why a belief in solutions is necessary even when no solution helps; and who seeks you now not as a son seeks a father, not as the lover seeks the beloved, but as the all-immaculate Idea, that which is highest because it is not-life, that which is most perfect and pleasing because it is so different from us.

Forgive me, Lord, but we are all there is. You exist because that is so, and you are perennial because we are so. Because we are alone, however, it does not follow that we are simple; because we are only men, it does not follow that you cannot be. As we imagined you, so we create you every day in the fire of every day; the creation is endless and complex, daily and minute—and that is your crown, as our need of each other, our seeking the truth of what lies beyond us as men through the knowledge of each other, is the material in it. Because eternity can be an experience, why should we forget that it begins as an idea in us, and that the idea is rooted in us as a child is rooted in desire? The seeking of the Godhead, the potential and imagined union, is real for some and not real for others; but it is most real, Lord, as a fable of man's knowledge of the mystery in which he lives and which every day he completes, transcends and begins again by being alive. Not so does your son Aldous see it. To him the Godhead is reached by escaping from "the lower self," by mortification of "self," by willing us to a higher state by saying that the lower is low, still lower, and should not exist. So sex is "discreditably low"; so "petty loves keep us from God" (as if our love of you were not the pettiest, shrewdest

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still!); so life is what it is in our century because men do not know "the way." Alas, Lord, they know and they do not know; but some men are tied vocationally to machines and many to ignorance and hatred; some are murdered because they are above the nation, and some because they have none; some have no time and some have no strength; many are foiled, and few are chosen.

Lord, you who condemned Aldous Huxley to dislike life and to write novels; to seek you in libraries and amid the fumes of Hollywood; to love the Indian scriptures but not the Indian masses; to know everything about man as a specimen and to believe so little in him, on sight, as an ultimately irreproachable being—Lord, will you not show him that all these texts are a defense against a real faith and not the road to one; that he really fails you most by failing us? Will you not show him that the Idea is not the pinnacle of thought as it rises into faith but the enemy of thought when it evades the life which grounds it? We have had enough, Lord, of "dying to self"; the self is still only honored or dishonored, it is not lived; and because it is not, there is not self-love either, but only a trembling to be what we are not and to deny what we are. And where we are denied, the love of you is gone forever. ALFRED KAZIN

On the Drama of the Soil

Food or Famine: The Challenge of Erosion, by Ward Shepard. New York: The Macmillan Company. 225 pages. $3.

THIS BOOK appeals for the husbandry of the whole earth and adopts the watershed as the indivisible unit for operations. It is thinking appropriate to an atomic age. Ward Shepard as author brings to his task the enthusiasm of a crusader, wide-ranging practical experience and a love of the soil as the one indispensable basis for human life. This is conservation painted on a big canvas and the objective is worldwide soil-erosion control as the only route to abundant living for all peoples.

The reader should be cautioned against taking too seriously the author's somewhat critical attitude toward TVA legislation and practices. Ward Shepard believes wholeheartedly in the TVA and, in common with most other students in this field, feels that future valley-authority legislation should provide for a closer relationship between the corporation on one hand and the public and private agencies within the valley on the other. In the TVA Act such relationships were wholly permissive, while in the Missouri Valley Authority bill now before Congress it is provided that "such a regional agency shall utilize to the fullest possible extent the advice, assistance and coöperation of the people of the region, and their public and private organizations—local and state, as well as the advice, assistance and coöperation of the existing operating agencies of the federal government." Without authority to coerce the units of local government, the TVA board has been successful in demonstrating that there is no necessity for conflict. The Governors of each of the states in the Tennessee Valley have testified as to the friendly and profitable relations between the states and the Authority. The author is right, of course, in wanting

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a more democratic control of authority operations. But it seems to me that the TVA has done a remarkable job in building up what are essentially democratic controls. Elections, as Shepard advocates, would do more harm than good at this time.

The author notes the failure of the TVA to utilize more widely the democratic and highly successful procedures of the Soil Conservation Service. He no doubt recognizes that this was not a matter of plan, but came about rather through the clash of personalities and bureaucratic cross-purposes not likely to occur in a new valley set-up. Early in the Roosevelt Administration it became clear that the Extension Service was interested pretty exclusively in the problems of the large-scale farmers. Undersecretary of Agriculture Rex Tugwell had to set up an entirely new organization to take care of the interests of those in the lower brackets. The Extension Service, associated as it is with the Land Grant colleges, continues to oppose the Soil Conservation Service in different parts of the country. This is American politics at its worst.

Mr. Shepard wants the relations between the authority and the governmental agencies operating in the watershed to be explicitly stated in the enabling act. This, it seems to me, would be a fatal mistake and would be likely to perpetuate all the weaknesses of our present system. Even such "seasoned" agencies as the Army Engineers and the Reclamation Service have wholely unrelated assignments largely delineated before the unity of the valley problem was recognized. The Army Engineers in charge of flood control and navigation, and the Reclamation Service in charge of irrigation, are both on the receiving end as to water and are therefore in the embarrassing position of having no control over what comes to them. The responsibility for holding the raindrop where it falls and retarding its path to the main tributaries where these two agencies take hold, when and where recognized, is in other hands. Under the TVA, the relationship with each federal agency operating in the valley is discussed in the light of what is now recognized as one all-inclusive problem. The new relationships are then established by contracts or otherwise.

The emphasis in this book on watershed thinking v. river thinking, what is said as to the importance of upstream engineering and the space devoted to soil erosion, all bear on the foolishness of building dams on the main streams unless controls are established back on the land itself. Without such controls the accumulating silt is likely to make them useless in a few years. And this applies no matter what agency builds the dams. Before very long we will abandon the system of accounting which decides what "pays," judged by the standards of the Stock Exchange. Only social accounting will ensure future generations a worthy habitation.

Illustrating a type of writing normal to socially minded engineers and which does not appear to be persuasive, I cite the title of the book, *Food or Famine*, the chapter heading, "Erosion and Hunger"; such terms as "ravaged by drift," "imperatively dictated" and "cardinal sin," as well as a wealth of such explosive words as "ominously," "staggering," "cataclysmic," "devastating," "searing" and "deadly," which by good fortune occur mainly in the early part of this book. When in Russia we were told that in the early years of the Revolution they followed German patterns in their publicity work. One poster advocating safety-promotion practices depicted a man caught in a machine, his detached head and a trouser filled with leg flying off in different directions. After a while German *Schrecklichkeit* was abandoned in favor of American humor. Anyone who knows how rapidly our soil substance is being wasted is bound to feel strongly about it. But no matter how strongly we may feel, we must learn to recognize that our audience will not respond to threats. People are more intrigued by fat and lowing kine on the Tennessee and happy, well fed kids living in comfortable thatched houses on the Niger than in impending disaster.

My friend has written a moving book which reveals not only familiarity with the subject but a rare insight into the desirable evolution of our political and economic ways.

MORRIS LLEWELLYN COOKE

Reviews in Forthcoming Issues:

Thomas Sancton on *Black Metropolis*, by St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton; Conrad Aiken on Karl Shapiro's *Essay on Rime;* Alistair Cooke on William March's collection of short stories, *Trial Balance;* Paul Weiss on Bertrand Russell's *A History of Western Philosophy*.

Other contributors to this issue:

NORMAN MACLEOD's selected poems, *A Man in Midpassage*, will be issued shortly by William Maclellan (Glasgow). He is in charge of the Creative Writing Program at Briarcliff Junior College and directs the publication of the *Briarcliff Quarterly*.

ALFRED KAZIN, a contributing editor of the *New Republic*, recently returned from England, where he undertook a study for the Rockefeller Foundation of popular education in the British army, industry and universities.

MORRIS LLEWELLYN COOKE, consulting engineer, served as vice-chairman of the National Power Policy Commission.

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